THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1864-1866

THE LONDON CONFERENCE 1865

MINUTES

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THIS VOLUME contains the Minutes of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association (the First International) from its foundation in 1864 up to August 1866, together with Minutes of the London Conference of September 1865, and Documents issued by the General Council up to August 1866.

Subsequent volumes will contain the Council's Minutes and other Documents in the ensuing years of the life of the I.W.M.A.

This entire collection of Documents of the First International has been prepared by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to mark the Centenary of the foundation of the International.

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Documents of

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

1864 - 1866

VOLUME I

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

FOR THE CENTENARY
OF THE FOUNDING
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S
ASSOCIATION
1864-1964

INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM OF THE C.C., C.P.S.U.

DOCUMENTS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL

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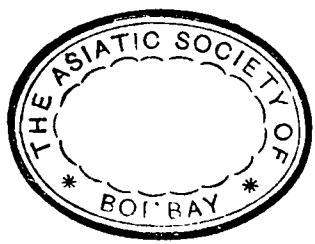

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THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL 1864-1866

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THE LONDON CONFERENCE 1865

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MINUTES

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CONTENTS

Preface 11

THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
(October 5, 1864 — August 21, 1866)

1864

Meeting of October 5 35
Sub-Committee Meeting, October 8 38
Meeting of October 11 39
Meeting of October 18 41
Meeting of November 1 43
Meeting of November 8 44
Meeting of November 15 46
Meeting of November 22 48
Meeting of November 29 50
Meeting of December 13 55
Meeting of December 20 57
Meeting of December 29 58

1865

Meeting of January 3 60
Meeting of January 10 62
Meeting of January 17 65
Meeting of January 24 66
Meeting of January 31 67
Meeting of February 7 70

Meeting of February 14 72
Meeting of February 21 73
Meeting of February 28 75
Meeting of March 7 76
Meeting of March 14 79
Meeting of March 21 82
Meeting of March 28 84
Meeting of April 4 86
Meeting of April 11 88
Meeting of April 25 91
Meeting of May 2 93
Meeting of May 9 94
Meeting of May 16 97
Meeting of May 23 99
Meeting of May 30 100
Meeting of June 6 104
Meeting of June 13 106
Meeting of June 20 108
Meeting of June 27 110
Meeting of July 4 112
Meeting of July 11 113
Meeting of July 18 114
Meeting of July 25 114
Meeting of August 1 119
Meeting of August 8 120
Meeting of August 15 123
Meeting of August 22 123
Meeting of August 28 124
Meeting of September 5 126
Meeting of September 12 127
Meeting of September 19 128
Meeting of October 3 130
Meeting of October 10 132

Meeting of October 17 133
Meeting of October 31 135
Meeting of November 14 138
Meeting of November 21 141
Meeting of November 28 144
Meeting of December 19 145
Meeting of December 26 148

1866

Meeting of January 2 151
Meeting of January 9 154
Meeting of January 16 159
Meeting of January 23 161
Meeting of January 30 162
Meeting of February 6 163
Meeting of February 13 165
Meeting of February 20 166
Meeting of February 27 168
Meeting of March 6 168
Meeting of March 13 170
Meeting of March 20 172
Meeting of March 27 173
Meeting of April 3 175
Meeting of April 10 177
Meeting of April 17 179
Meeting of April 24 180
Meeting of May 1 182
Meeting of May 8 186
Meeting of May 15 191
Meeting of May 22 192
Meeting of May 29 195
Meeting of June 5 197
Meeting of June 12 199
Meeting of June 19 200

Meeting of June 26 203
Meeting of July 3 206
Meeting of July 10 208
Meeting of July 17 210
Meeting of July 24 213
Meeting of July 31 216
Meeting of August 7 219
Meeting of August 14 220
Meeting of August 21 225

THE LONDON CONFERENCE
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION
(September 25-29, 1865)

Meeting of the Standing Committee, September 25 . . . 231
Sitting of the Conference, September 25 236
Meeting of the Standing Committee, September 26 . . . 239
Meeting of the Conference, September 26 242
Sitting of the Conference, September 27 245
Meeting of the Standing Committee, September 29 . . . 249
REPORT ON THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN GERMANY 251

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL MARX

KARL MARX. DRAFT FOR A REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL, *January 24, 1865* *. 263
KARL MARX. NOTES CONCERNING THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION*. 264
KARL MARX. MEMORANDUM TO HERMANN JUNG APROPOS OF THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION* 265
KARL MARX. NOTE TO HERMANN JUNG APROPOS OF ERNEST JONES'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING, *March 21, 1865**. 271
KARL MARX. NOTES FOR THE REPORT ON WAGES, PRICE AND PROFIT*. 272
MINUTES OF GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING RECORDED BY KARL MARX, *January 16, 1866** 273

* The heading is given by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.

DOCUMENTS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

KARL MARX. INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION 277

KARL MARX. PROVISIONAL RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION 288

KARL MARX. BERICHTIGUNG (CORRECTION) 292

KARL MARX. ADDRESS FROM THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON 294

TO TRADE, FRIENDLY, OR ANY WORKING MEN'S SOCIETIES 297

TO THE WORKING MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND 299

THE INDUSTRIAL NEWSPAPER COMPANY (LIMITED) 301

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION *(Programme of the London Conference)* 305

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION *(Programme of Second Soirée)* 307

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 310

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION *(Appeal in Connection with the Geneva Congress)* . . . 313

MONSIEUR LE REDACTEUR DE *L'ECHO DE VERVIERS* (TO THE EDITOR OF *L'ECHO DE VERVIERS*) 317

THE IRISH STATE PRISONERS. SIR GEORGE GREY AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION 327

KARL MARX. WARNUNG (A WARNING) 335

AUX ETUDIANTS DE PARIS, AUX ETUDIANTS ET AUX JEUNES HOMMES DE TOUS LES PAYS—LES OUVRIERS DE TOUS PAYS (TO THE PARIS STUDENTS, TO THE STUDENTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES FROM THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES) 337

KARL MARX. INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DELEGATES OF THE PROVISIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL. THE DIFFERENT QUESTIONS 340

Appendix 355

Explanatory Notes. 372

Name Index 440

Index of Periodicals 477

Index of Addresses and Geographical Names 479

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page of the Minute Book (General Council meeting of November 29, 1864) with the printed text of the address to President Lincoln pasted into the Book 50-51

Leaflet with the programme of the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association held in 1865 122-23

Minutes of the General Council meeting of January 16, 1866, recorded by Karl Marx 157

Page of Marx's memorandum to Jung apropos of the conflict in the Paris section 267

General Council's address to working men's societies with the form of application for those wishing to join the International Working Men's Association 292-93

PREFACE

In the history of the world emancipation movement of the working class a special place is held by the International Working Men's Association—the First International. Founded on September 28, 1864, at an international meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, London, this first international proletarian mass organisation paved the way for the world communist movement of today. In the ranks of the International Working Men's Association the advanced workers of Europe and America got a schooling in proletarian internationalism, imbibed the ideas of Marxism, and finally discarded petty-bourgeois sectarianism for the proletarian party principle. "For ten years the International dominated one side of European history—the side on which the future lies," Engels wrote in 1874.

The International Working Men's Association came into being during the upsurge of the European revolutionary-democratic and working-class movement in the late fifties and early sixties of the last century. It arose as an expression of the urge towards international union among the advanced workers of different countries. However, the immense significance it was to acquire was due to the notable part played in it by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of Marxism, whose preceding theoretical and practical activities and years of struggle for a proletarian party had prepared the ground for the establishment of the Association.

Beginning with 1844, when Marx and Engels laid the groundwork for their doctrine of scientific communism, and proceeded to form a core of proletarian revolutionaries and Communists, they fought unflaggingly to create a party that would direct the international proletariat along the path of conscious and organised struggle for their emancipation from the capitalist yoke and for the triumph of the socialist system. The Communist League, founded in 1847, was the first step towards the establishment of a proletarian party. The League consisted of a mere handful of advanced workers, but the first cadres of Communists it produced were to exert a decisive influence on the further development of the international working-class movement. The *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which Marx and Engels wrote for the League, was and remains a major programme document of the militant vanguard of the revolutionary working class of all countries.

The struggle for a proletarian party, which assumed different forms depending upon the historical situation, was the salient feature in all of the activities of Marx and Engels. The lifetime of the International was one of the most important phases in these activities. These were years when the basic programme and organisational principles of Marxism were tested in the crucible of the class struggle and the mass working-class movement in Europe and America. The experience gained by individual working-class contingents, in its turn, enriched the theory of Marxism, and stimulated its further development. The history of the First International is a momentous page in the history of the development and spread of Marxism and its merging with the working-class movement.

The character and trend of the activities pursued by the International Working Men's Association were determined primarily by its leading body, the General Council. The Minute Books of the General Council for 1864-72 are a kind of chronicle of this glorious period in the history of

the working class. They contain the minutes of the weekly meetings at which workers from various countries, deeply conscious of their class tasks, expressed their views and adopted decisions, from the proletariat's standpoint, on all major international economic and political issues. Although the minutes were not always efficiently taken down and at times give only a general idea of the question under discussion and the trend of the debates, they nevertheless show the role played by Marx and Engels as organisers and inspirers of the international proletariat and as the founders and leaders of its first mass organisation. The Minute Books of the General Council are an indispensable source for a study of the International's activities and the international working-class movement of the nineteenth century, and of the struggle waged by Marx and Engels for a proletarian party.

The first Minute Book of the General Council, published in the original for the first time in the present volume, covers a period between October 5, 1864 and August 21, 1866, which may be described as formative for the International. During that period the International's leading body, which evolved from the Provisional Committee elected at the inaugural meeting in St. Martin's Hall, was, in pursuance of instructions from the meeting, to draw up the rules and programme of the organisation, use its efforts to organise sections of the International in various countries, and take the steps preparatory to the convocation of a general congress of the Association. It was only towards the end of that period that the International's leading body came to call itself the General Council, by which name it is known in history. Documents relating to the earlier period refer to it simply as the Committee, the Central Committee, or the Central Council.

Marx's leading role in the General Council became apparent from the very beginning. Elected on October 5, 1864 a member of the Committee which was to work out

the programme documents, Marx was able to counter all attempts to impose upon the Association a declaration of principles and the statutes of workers' mutual benefit societies drawn up in a bourgeois-democratic spirit. His efforts led to the adoption, on November 1, 1864, of the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association and the Provisional Rules of the Association (see pp. 277-91 of the present volume), both of which were written by Marx. In order to unite into one army the individual contingents of the European working-class movement, which stood at very diverse levels of development in matters of theory, Marx had to draw up a programme that would not shut the door upon the British trade-unionists, the French, Belgian, and Swiss Proudhonists, and the German Lassalleans. Only in this way could the mass character of the organisation be assured. Accordingly, the basic principles of scientific communism were expounded by Marx in the Address and the Rules in a most general form, acceptable to all workers. The General Council approved the programme documents as drawn up by Marx, making it clear from the very outset that in character the International was an international class and mass organisation of the proletariat.

The primary task of the General Council at that stage was to safeguard the proletarian character of the International against the encroachments of bourgeois politicians who sought to use the upsurge in the working-class movement in their own ends. To cope with this task the Council had itself first to become a militant, efficient, authoritative, and proletarian body, worthy of heading an international organisation of the working class. The original composition of the Committee, elected on September 28, was an extremely mixed one. Besides leaders of the British trade unions and of the German, French, Italian, and Polish proletarian and petty-bourgeois émigrés in London, there were representatives of the English bourgeois radical and

democratic movement, bourgeois co-operators, and men active in bourgeois philanthropic cultural and educational societies for workers, etc. Some of the groups which were opposed to an independent proletarian movement, as, for instance, the followers of Mazzini, hastened at the very first sittings to swell their ranks by taking advantage of the Council's right to co-opt members, while the leaders of the bourgeois philanthropic Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes suggested a plan for merging the Association with the League (see p. 40 of the present volume).

Marx firmly upheld the class character of the International, seeking above all to strengthen the proletarian core of the General Council. He secured the co-optation into the Council of a number of German and French workers; at his proposal the Council adopted special measures to consolidate its ranks and free itself of dead weight: honorary membership was prohibited, attendance of Council meetings and nomination of new members were made obligatory, etc. (pp. 45, 67, et al.). The result was that by the spring of 1865, when a considerable part of the bourgeois element had left the Council, it became an essentially international working-class body that most fully represented diverse contingents of the European proletariat. The most active members of the General Council, who were dedicated to the cause of the proletariat, rallied round Marx, thereby ensuring the predominance of the revolutionary proletarian element in the Council.

By then, what was known as the Standing or the Sub-Committee—a more narrow executive body not provided for, formally, by the Rules—had been constituted. It arose out of the committee originally elected to draw up the programme documents. The Standing Committee included all the Council's officials: the President (this post was held by Odger right down to its abolition in September 1867), the Secretary, and the Treasurer (Cremer, Wheeler, Fox,

Shaw, and others), as well as the corresponding secretaries for the various countries (Jung, Le Lubez, Dupont, and others). Marx was a member of the Standing Committee as Corresponding Secretary for Germany. With one or two exceptions, the minutes of the Standing Committee have not been preserved; our knowledge of some of its meetings comes from the minutes of the General Council meetings and from the correspondence of Marx and of Council members. The Standing Committee, which met weekly, usually on Saturdays, gradually became the guiding centre of the International in its routine work.

It was not long before the General Council succeeded in establishing contact with individual workers' groups in France and Switzerland. Letters read at the Council meetings show that the founding of the International and the Council's first steps met with a wide response on the European Continent. In the course of a few months sections of the International were formed in France, Switzerland, and Belgium. The General Council helped them to organise themselves as a body, sent them the Address and Rules of the Association and membership cards. At the same time it had to repel attempts by bourgeois politicians to get into local organisations of the International.

Thus, Léon, Fontaine, a Belgian bourgeois democrat, tried to found a section of the International in Brussels independently of the workers' organisations existing in Belgium, and to prevent their representatives from getting into direct touch with the General Council. Fontaine's attempts, however, miscarried: a Belgian section was established, in spite of him, on the basis of The People, a democratic workers' anti-clerical society.

In the spring of 1865, when a conflict broke out in the Paris section between the Proudhonist workers, who headed the section, and the bourgeois republican journalist Henri Lefort, who laid claim to leadership of the International in France, the leaders of the section, Tolain

Central Council Meeting November 29/64

The President in the Chair, The Minutes of the former meeting having been read Mr Cesarini prop. Leesner sec their confirmation Carried. The following were then added to the Council, Mr D Cornelius, Mr Thos Smales & Mr Peterson on the motion of Mr Cesarini sec by Mr Leesner; Mr Alexander Schantzenbach prop by Wolfsp sec by Rychenstein Dr G Bagnagatti prop by Fontana sec by Lama Mr Hopkins Williams prop by Mr Lucraft sec by Morton The following resolution was then prop by Dr Marx sec by Mr Fontana and C Rl - That no one be elected on the C C who has not previously paid his Annual Subscription as a Member of this Association — Dr Marx then brought up the report of the Sub Committee also a draft of the address which had been drawn up for presentation to the People of America congratulating them on their having re-elected Abraham Lincoln as President. The address is as follows and was unanimously agreed to

"To Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America.

"Sir,—We congratulate the American people upon your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery.

"From the commencement of the Titanic American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which spread the dire stripes, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labour of the emigrant or prostituted by the tramp of the slave driver?

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'slavery' on the banner of armed revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man were issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution,' and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficent institution,' indeed, the only solution of the great problem of 'the relation of capital to labour,' and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the corner-stone of the new edifice,'—then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labour, and that for the men of labour, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention—importunities of their betters—and, from most parts of Europe, contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

"While the working men, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they bowed in the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer, to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation: but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

"The working men of Europe feel sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American Anti-Slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a moral world.

"Signed, on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, the Central Council:—

"Longmaid, Worley, Whitlock, Fox, Blackmore, Hartwell, Pidgeon, Lucraft, Weston, Dell, Nurse, Shaw, Lake, Buckley, Osborne, Howell, Carter, Wheeler, Stansby, Morgan, Grossmith, Dick, Dodonal, Jourdain, Mottershead, Lessner, Bevilaqua, Bousset, Talandier, Jourdain, Le Wolff, Allemand, Lama, Boissin, Nasperli, Eccarius, Wolff, Lessner, Pfander, Lochner, Thorn, Rollitzer, Rysenstein, Hansen, Schantzenbach, Smales, Cornelius, Petersen, Otto, Bagnagatti, Setacci, George Odgers, President of Council. P. V. Lubez, Corresponding Secretary for France. Carl Marx, Corresponding Secretary for Germany. O. P. Fontana, Corresponding Secretary for Italy. J. P. Holtzap, Corresponding Secretary for Poland; H. F. Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland.—William R. Cremer, Hon. General Secretary. 19, Greek street, Soho.

Page of the Minute Book (General Council meeting of November 29, 1864) with the printed text of the address to President Lincoln pasted into the Book

and Fribourg, appealed to the General Council for assistance. The Council had to act as arbiter and decide questions connected with the internal affairs of the section. It needed Marx's high principles, his rich tactical and organisational experience, to cope with the task. Extant letters written by the International's leading figures in connection with this conflict and Marx's notes on the matter show the signal role he played in settling this complex question. An end was put to encroachments by bourgeois republicans who, as Marx wrote in his memorandum to Jung, were imperilling the international and class character of the organisation (p. 269).

Of immense significance in enhancing the international prestige of the General Council was the immediate help it gave to diverse contingents of the European working class in their struggle against the employers. The Council members, themselves workers, paid every attention to inquiries from fellow workers. Cremer wrote numerous letters to various cities in England in connection with a request from the Lyons workers asking for information about the manufacture of tulle in England (pp. 99, 124). Much was done to organise material support for the Leipzig printers during their strike (p. 92), the General Council sending delegations to meetings of various English workers' societies to appeal for funds. These visits were the finest propaganda of the ideas of proletarian solidarity, embodied in the International; they often resulted in new trade unions joining the Association. The General Council was very active during the tailors' strikes in Edinburgh and London in the spring of 1866 (pp. 174, 186, 194), when it fought the employers' attempts to break the strikes by bringing in workers recruited in Germany. The Council arranged for the publication in the International's periodicals of warnings to the tailors, one of which was written by Marx (pp. 335-36); it specially sent two of its members to Edinburgh to carry on agitation among the workers

brought over from Germany by employers, helped to find work for those of them who refused to be strike-breakers, or arranged for their return home.

The mass strike movement under the leadership of the General Council played a significant part in the education of the European proletariat. The success of the strike struggle helped the French workers to overcome the influence of the Proudhonist dogma about the harmfulness of strikes, and the German workers to take a correct view of the economic struggle of the proletariat and to reject the Lassallean underestimation of this form of struggle. What should be the attitude to strikes was one of the first questions which the direct experience of the working-class movement raised and around which a theoretical struggle developed in the International.

The struggle of trends in the International was quite logical and unavoidable, it reflected the overcoming by the European proletariat of sectarian forms typical of the early stages of the working-class movement. This was the struggle of scientific communism against the pre-Marxian utopian, petty-bourgeois socialist and social-reformist doctrines. As it won its way to the minds of the working masses of Europe and America, Marxism had to contend with the opposition of the leaders and groups who were influenced by sectarian views characteristic of their respective countries. The history of the International, Marx wrote in a letter to Bolte on November 23, 1871, was "a *continual struggle on the part of the General Council* against the sects and amateur experiments which attempted to maintain themselves within the International itself against the genuine movement of the working class. This struggle was conducted at the *congresses*, but far more in the private dealings of the General Council with the individual sections".

In the spring of 1865 John Weston, a member of the General Council, brought up for discussion at the Council

his proposition about the uselessness and even harmfulness of workers fighting for a wage increase (pp. 88, 97, et al.). This proposition, which was based on erroneous theoretical views, reflected the author's underestimation of the proletariat's economic struggle, his failure to understand the role of the trade unions; its underlying idea was passive submission to capitalist exploitation. During the debate that followed on this question in the Council, Marx read a report on "Wages, Price and Profit", the significance of which extends far beyond a mere refutation of Weston's proposition. Marx's report, which expounds the importance of the economic struggle of the workers against the capitalists, was directed not only against Weston but also against the French Proudhonists, who rejected the strike struggle, and against the German Lassalleans, who disregarded the organisation of trade unions. At the same time the report contained criticism of the narrow outlook and reformism of the British trade unions which rested content with petty concessions on the part of the employers within the framework of the capitalist system. The resolution, proposed by Marx, stated that the trade unions should not confine themselves to "a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system", but should "use their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system". Marx's report, which even prior to the publication of Volume I of *Capital* set forth in concise and popular form the basic propositions of the Marxian economic doctrine, was spearheaded also against the English vulgar economists of the mid-nineteenth century, among them John Stuart Mill, whose theories were being widely propagated in the democratic and workers' press and were exerting a strong influence on leading trade-union circles.

The minutes of the General Council reveal the day-by-day struggle which Marx had to wage from the start

against the bourgeois-liberal ideology of the British trade-union leaders and their homage to capitalism. The prominence this struggle came in for in the General Council's work stemmed from the special functions it had to perform as regards Britain: according to point eight of the Provisional Rules, the Council was charged to carry on direct propaganda among the British workers, and enlist them in the International (pp. 291, 297-98). In pursuance of this, the Council, beginning with November 1864, followed up Marx's initiative by sending delegations to local trade-union organisations with the purpose of propagating the aims of the Association. On Marx's insistence these trade unions, upon joining the Association, were given the right to have their representatives on the Council (p. 49). Very soon the Council was reinforced by the adhesion of working-class militants, who stood closer to the masses. Their backing enabled Marx to exert an influence on trade-union leaders, members of the General Council, who not infrequently were vehicles of bourgeois views.

The influence of the bourgeoisie on the top leadership of the London trade unions was particularly evident during the electoral reform movement of 1865-67. Marx, who regarded the mass participation of British workers in this movement as a factor in revolutionising the British proletariat and in making for an independent workers' party in Britain, gave warm support to the initiators of the movement (pp. 70, 92, et al.). Under his influence the Reform League, founded in the spring of 1865 with the participation of General Council members, put forward the Chartist demand for manhood suffrage. The Council minutes show the repeated attempts made by reformist leaders in the League to depart from these consistently democratic positions (pp. 82-83), attempts which ended in 1867 in the capitulation of the trade-union leaders to the liberal bourgeoisie.

With a view to wresting the British workers from the

ideological influence of the bourgeoisie, Marx worked for the establishment of an independent workers' press in Britain. He criticised the opportunist stand taken by *The Bee-Hive*, a paper which was considered the Association's organ, and supported his colleagues in founding an independent workers' paper by taking up shares in the Industrial Newspaper Company (pp. 124, 299-304).

The international character of the General Council's activities was expressed, from its inception, in its foreign policy statements. The Inaugural Address, written by Marx, formulated the ideas of proletarian internationalism and called upon the working class to uphold their independent stand on foreign policy issues, no matter what stand the exploiting classes might adopt. The same ideas run through the General Council's addresses to Lincoln (pp. 51-54) and to Johnson (pp. 294-96), drafted by Marx.

The General Council's policy on the Polish question was of special significance. Its members had not forgotten that one of the immediate factors responsible for the founding of the International was the protest, voiced by French and English workers at a joint meeting in St. James's Hall on July 22, 1863, against the suppression of the Polish Insurrection of 1863. The demand that Poland's independence be restored, a demand that was directed against tsarism, then one of reaction's bulwarks in Europe, enabled workers in every country to expose the foreign policy of their own governments, since the Polish Insurrection had been suppressed with the direct or indirect connivance of all the European powers.

It became a tradition with the General Council to observe the anniversary of the Polish Insurrection at public meetings and gatherings. Marx who took an active part in their preparation stressed the point that the workers could have common interests only with the representatives of the most radical wing of the Polish national-liberation movement—the revolutionary democrats. At the Standing

Committee meeting of December 6, 1864 and at the Council meeting of December 13, he sharply criticised the address drawn up by the radical publicist Fox, in which France's policy towards Poland was represented in an apologetic light. When John Taylor, a member of the bourgeois National League for the Independence of Poland, declared that he thought the beginning of 1865 "inopportune" for holding a meeting on Poland, Marx replied that the working class had its own foreign policy and was not guided by what the bourgeoisie considered "opportune or inopportune" (see Marx's letter to Engels, February 25, 1865). The General Council's consistently internationalist stand on the Polish question is particularly clearly expressed in the "Correction" ("Berichtigung") written by Marx in connection with the distorted press report of the meeting held on March 1, 1865 (pp. 292-93).

As a result of the correct stand taken on the Polish question by the majority in the General Council, Marx was able, notwithstanding the opposition of the Proudhonists, to get the London Conference of 1865 to include on the agenda of the 1866 Geneva Congress the demand for the restoration of Poland's independence.

The London Conference, the minutes of which are published in the present volume, was an important stage in the General Council's struggle for leadership in the International. It was convened on the insistence of Marx, who held that the sections of the International were still too weak ideologically and organisationally to hold a general congress in 1865, as provided for in the Rules, and as was being particularly urged by the Paris section, which hoped thus to gain the leadership. With this end in view, the Paris section had, early in July 1865, issued an appeal to all members of the International with a detailed congress agenda; neither appeal nor agenda had been submitted to the General Council for approval. The matter was discussed by the Council at its meeting of July 18, 1865. By

that time Marx had persuaded the majority of the Council members that the congress should be postponed. On July 25 the Council approved the Standing Committee's programme for a conference, which was to be of a preliminary nature and would settle some fundamental and organisational matters relevant to the general congress, especially the question of its agenda. The programme was drawn up by Marx, who included in the proposed congress agenda the items suggested by the Paris section, after editing them and adding the following two points: shortening of the working day and the restoration of Poland on a democratic basis.

The Conference, which was held from September 25 to 29, 1865, was attended by nine delegates—from France, Switzerland, and Belgium—and by the members of the General Council. The evening sittings were attended by the entire Council and the day sittings, which dealt mainly with organisational matters, only by the delegates and members of the Standing Committee. On September 28, the first anniversary of the founding of the International, a soirée was held in St. Martin's Hall.

The Conference minutes vividly reflect the struggle the General Council had to wage against the sectarian views of the Proudhonists. The Paris delegates objected to the Polish question being discussed at the Congress; they argued that the working class should concern itself with purely economic questions and leave politics alone. They also insisted that any worker who so wanted, and not only elected delegates, should be allowed to take part in the Congress. The Proudhonists were defeated on both points. The Conference decidedly rejected the Proudhonist slogan of abstaining from the political struggle, and upheld the principle of strict representation at the Congress; it was resolved that only delegates who represented duly constituted sections which had paid their membership dues, would be allowed to attend the Congress.

The Conference heard reports by delegates on the situation in the individual sections, which contained important factual material. Of particular interest was the report about the working-class movement in Germany, sent in by Wilhelm Liebknecht who could not attend the Conference in person. The report, which was found among Marx's papers and is published in the present volume for the first time in the original, underlines the immense significance that Marx's and Engels's work on the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848-49 had for the development of the German working class. Although the ground had been prepared by the activities of the founders of Marxism, propaganda on behalf of the International and the establishment of its sections in Germany at first encountered very big difficulties. This was due not only to police restrictions, which hampered freedom of association, but primarily to the sectarian policy of the Lassallean leaders of the General Association of German Workers. The ideas of proletarian internationalism and the activities of the International were quite alien to the Lassalleans with their narrow nationalism, their reformism and utter disregard of the economic struggle of the working class. It was only as a result of the indefatigable struggle waged by Marx and Engels and by their followers and disciples, August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht, against Lassalleanism that the German working class eventually, at the Nuremberg Congress of German trade unions in 1868, subscribed to the programme of the International.

At the London Conference personal contact was established between several of the General Council's leading members: Dupont, Jung, Eccarius, Lessner and the Continental delegates Varlin, De Paepe and Becker. This was to be of great importance, for these personal contacts helped them to take a common stand, at the congresses of the International, on all cardinal questions of the programme and tactics. Besides greatly strengthening the

General Council as a most important part of the International's organisational structure, the Conference also enhanced Marx's authority, and rallied the more militant, revolutionary proletarian elements around him. The success of the Conference, however, stirred to activity the petty-bourgeois, anti-proletarian elements who were in opposition to Marx. In January 1866 the General Council was obliged to reply in the press to a slanderous article by the French publicist Vésinier, who gave a distorted picture of the work of the Conference and the activities of the General Council. The Council's reply was written by Jung and edited by Marx (pp. 317-26). Since the dispute, as Marx stressed in a letter to Engels, centred basically on the General Council's stand on the Polish question, Marx asked Engels to write a series of articles for the International's organ *The Commonwealth,* substantiating the proletariat's tactics in the national question. In compliance with this request, Engels wrote the articles "What Have the Working Class To Do With Poland?", thereby directly participating in the work of the International from the very early days of its existence. A resident of Manchester up to 1870 and therefore unable to attend the General Council meetings, Engels could not, under the Rules, be a member of the Council. It was only after he had moved to London that he was able to become an active Council member. As Corresponding Secretary for Italy, Spain, and Portugal, he actually guided the work of the International's sections in those countries. But even before that Engels, who regularly corresponded and periodically met with Marx, was well informed about the latter's plans and actively helped to settle various questions that came up. As a direct participant in the theoretical struggle in the International, Engels upheld the principles of scientific communism, and in a series of brilliant publicistic writings elaborated the tactics of the proletariat. His pamphlet *The Military Question in Prussia and the*

German Workers' Party, which was written early in 1865 and was directed against the Lassalleans, had a direct bearing on the struggle of the various trends in the International. In his series of articles "What Have the Working Class To Do With Poland?" he struck a crushing blow at the nihilistic approach to the national question, characteristic of the Proudhonists, and at the same time exposed the demagogic game being played by the Bonapartists, who were using the "principle of nationalities" to suit their reactionary ends. Engels's articles, which were discussed in the General Council (p. 190), helped the members of the International in England to see the national question in its proper aspect.

Some French members of the General Council were still, however, under the influence of Proudhonism. In the spring of 1866, in connection with the aggravation of the international situation on the eve of the Austro-Prussian war, a group of French students published an anti-war appeal in the Paris *Courrier Français*. The appeal, which was bourgeois-pacifist in character, was addressed to the student youth of Germany and Italy. The members of the French branch in London drew up a counter-appeal. It was discussed at the Council meeting of June 5, 1866, which Marx was unable to attend. The appeal which rightly condemned predatory wars, did not take account of the concrete historical character of the European wars of the fifties and the sixties in the course of which the progressive aim of the reunification of Italy and of Germany was achieved. During June and July the General Council discussed the war question which led to an exhaustive discussion of the national question. Marx ridiculed and unmasked the French Proudhonists' nihilistic negation of nations and the national question. In a letter to Engels dated June 7, 1866, he wrote: "The Proudhonist clique ... preaches peace, declares war to be obsolete and nationalities to be an absurdity, attacks Bismarck and

Garibaldi, etc. As polemics against chauvinism their doings are useful and explicable." Returning to this question in a letter to Engels dated June 20, 1866, Marx wrote: "As for the rest the situation is difficult now, because on the one hand silly English Italianism and on the other the erroneous French polemics against it must be equally combated. In particular every demonstration that would involve our Association in a one-sided course must be prevented." The General Council minutes give only a summarised account of Marx's speech and the discussion that followed. But from Jung's detailed letter to Becker of July 4, 1866, in which he gave an account of his speech at the said meeting, it is apparent that Marx and his immediate supporters closely linked up the question of the war with the prospects of an European revolution and with the tasks of the proletariat in the event of the Second Empire being overthrown in France and the revolutionary democratic course towards the unification of Germany triumphing over the Prussian course. In the event of developments taking this turn, Jung wrote, the General Council must be able to bring pressure to bear on the British Government through mass meetings in London and thus prevent it from coming out in support of the counter-revolutionary forces. Therefore, Jung wrote in conclusion, all efforts should be concentrated now on strengthening the International. As a result of the ensuing discussion, the draft resolutions submitted on June 26, which had contained a one-sided condemnation of Prussia's aggressive policy, were withdrawn and another resolution adopted, which basically reflected the viewpoint expressed by Jung (pp. 212-13).

The General Council minutes for July and August 1866 illustrate the work it carried on in preparation for the Geneva Congress. Marx took a direct part in this preparatory work by drawing up the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" (pp. 340-51), The minutes of August 28, the last

meeting held before the Congress, are not recorded in the Minute Book, and have been preserved only in the form of a newspaper report (pp. 423-25).

In the Section "From the Manuscripts of Karl Marx" we publish for the first time in the original some of his notes and drafts for reports he delivered at Council or Standing Committee meetings; they also reflect his work in guiding the activities of the General Council.

The Section "Documents of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association" contains the most important documents relating to the period under review. Six of them were written by Marx himself: "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association", "Provisional Rules of the Association", "Correction", "Address from the Working Men's International Association to President Johnson", "A Warning" ("Warnung"), and "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions". The General Council's "Address to Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America", which was written by Marx and approved by the Council at its meeting of November 29, 1864, is included in the text of the relevant minutes (pp. 51-54). We also publish in this Section two documents edited by Karl Marx, viz., "To Trade, Friendly, or Any Working Men's Societies" (inviting these societies to join the International Working Men's Association) and "To the Editor of *L'Echo de Verviers*" ("Monsieur le Rédacteur de *L'Echo de Verviers*").

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The full text of the General Council minutes for October 1864-August 1866 appears here for the first time in the original; the minutes are published in accordance with the documents kept in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U., Moscow. The

Russian edition of the minutes was put out by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the title: *The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866. The London Conference, 1865. Minutes.* Moscow, 1961, State Publishing House of Political Literature. The minutes of October 5, 8, 11, 18, and of November 1, 1864, were first published in Russian in 1934 by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and in the original in 1935 (*Founding of the First International. A Documentary Record.* Moscow, 1935. 96 p.).

The first Minute Book of the General Council, containing the minutes of 91 meetings, covers the period from October 5, 1864 to August 21, 1866 (158 pages of large size). William Cremer was the Council's Secretary from October 5, 1864 to October 17, 1865. The greater part of the minutes for the said period are written in his hand in the Minute Book, the rest are in an unknown hand. From October 31, 1865 onwards the nature of the minutes somewhat changes; they have been taken down less carefully; some of them are in the hand of Peter Fox and Robert Shaw who at different times acted as secretaries *pro tem.* Most of the minutes, however, are in Cremer's hand. Some of them are extant in the rough copy on separate leaves of paper which have been pasted onto the corresponding pages of the Minute Book. In some cases, especially in the latter part of the Book, the newspaper clipping carrying the printed report of the given Council meeting has been pasted onto the corresponding page instead of the handwritten copy. As a rule, at the beginning of every meeting the minutes of the previous one were read and confirmed; the minutes are signed for the most part by the President and Secretary of the meeting that confirmed the minutes.

The minutes of the London Conference of 1865 are published according to the copy in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the C.C., C.P.S.U.

They were first published in abridged form in German in 1902 in *Die Neue Zeit*, Jhg. XX, Bd. I.

The minutes are in manuscript, written on 23 pages of differing sizes. The minutes of the day sittings of September 25 and 26, 1865, are in Cremer's hand, those of the evening sittings of September 25, 26 and 27—in Le Lubez's hand, and that of September 29—in Howell's hand. All the Conference minutes are dated but are not signed. It is apparent from the minutes of the evening sitting of September 27, that Marx had acted as Secretary at the day sitting. This fact is also borne out by Cremer's letter to Marx on the subject (the letter, which has been preserved, is dated October 1865). There is no record, however, of the day sitting of September 27.

Liebknecht's report on the working-class movement in Germany, which he sent to the London Conference, appears in the present volume for the first time. The 11-page report written in English by Liebknecht is published according to the manuscript copy in the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The present volume is furnished with explanatory notes, a name index, an index of periodicals, an index of addresses and geographical names, and an appendix, which contains the English translation of General Council documents written in German and French.

The footnotes indicate the state of the published manuscript, its specific features, as well as other remarks on the text; they also give the names of persons not mentioned in the text itself.

The explanatory notes at the end of the volume provide the reader with more detailed information on the manuscripts published. These notes are based on other documents and material relating to the history of the International, and primarily on the correspondence between Marx and Engels, their letters to third persons, and on the correspondence of other General Council members

with leaders of the International. The documents and material of the International's local sections in the Institute's Central Party Archives and library have also been drawn upon. Wide use has been made of the published material of the International, particularly the newspaper reports of the General Council meetings and of the London Conference of 1865, which appeared at the time in the General Council's London periodicals: *The Bee-Hive*, *The Workman's Advocate*, and *The Commonwealth*. These reports have been referred to whenever the information in them helped to amplify the handwritten minutes.

The contents of the present volume and their arrangement correspond to the afore-mentioned Russian edition of 1961 which was prepared for publication by Irene Bach and Valentina Smirnova, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The originals for the English edition have been deciphered by Nina Nepomnyashchaya, of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the volume has been prepared for publication by Molly Pearlman and Lydia Belyakova, of the Foreign Languages Publishing House.

No alterations have been made in the text, apart from corrections of obvious slips of the pen, misspelt words, biographical and geographical names. All abbreviations have been written out, and in some places supplementary words in square brackets have been inserted to render the text more comprehensible to the reader.

THE MINUTE BOOK OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

(October 5, 1864-August 21, 1866)

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION*

The first meeting of the Committee,[1] elected by the public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall on the 28th of September 1864, was held at 18, Greek St., Soho, on October 5th, 1864, and on the motion of Mr. *Weston*, seconded by Mr. *Whitlock*, Mr. G. Odger was voted to the chair.**

The *Chairman* said the first business was the appointment of a secretary to the Committee when Dr. *Marx* proposed and Mr. *Whitlock* seconded that Mr. Cremer be appointed.

Mr. *Cremer* would prefer the appointment of M. Le Lubez who was he believed in every way qualified to fill the office.

M. Le Lubez having for various reasons declined the office, Mr. Cremer was unanimously elected.

The next question discussed was the meeting nights of the Committee when several resolutions and amendments[2] were proposed, but ultimately on the motion of Mr. *Longmaid*, seconded by Mr. *Dell*, it was carried with one dissentient:

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* The beginning of the minutes is in Cremer's hand on p. 1 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Further, on pp. 1-3 of the Minute Book, the minutes are in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

That until the Association is in working order the Committee meet at 18, Greek St., every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

A question being asked as to the expenses of meeting in the room, it was agreed to adjourn the consideration of that matter till the Council of the Universal League had decided on what terms they could allow us the use of the room.[3]

The question of the rate of contributions was then discussed when Mr. *Noble* proposed and Mr. *Whitlock* seconded:

That for the present the rate of contributions for the Committee be 1s. per quarter, but that further voluntary contributions be accepted from any member or friend.

As an amendment Mr. *Worley* proposed and Mr. *Longmaid* seconded:

That the preliminary expenses of the Committee be defrayed by voluntary contributions from members of the Committee and other friends.

For amendment—6, for resolution—14. Carried.

A subscription of 3 guineas was then made by the members present, and on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Mr. *Blackmore*, Mr. G. Wheeler was unanimously elected treasurer to the Committee.

M. *Le Lubez* then proposed, Mr. *Whitlock* seconded, and it was unanimously agreed to that the following be added to the Committee:

Vasbenter, Morrissot, Jourdain, Leroux, Bordage, Aldovrandi.

On the motion of Major *Wolff*, seconded by Mr. *Holtorp*, M. Setacci, Mr. Carter and Professor Beesly were added to the General Committee.

The question of appointing secretaries to the different nationalities represented on the Committee was then discussed, and on the motion of Mr. *Whitlock*, seconded by Major *Wolff*, M. Le Lubez was unanimously elected cor-

responding secretary for France. On the motion of Mr. *Whitlock,* seconded by Dr. *Marx,* Mr. Holtorp was elected corresponding secretary for Poland.

Dr. *Marx* stated that the German Working Men's Association[4] would elect a corresponding secretary for Germany.

Major *Wolff* made a similar statement with regard to the Italian Working Men's Association.[5]

A long discussion then took place with regard to the election of a general honorary secretary and the position he should occupy in relation to the secretaries of the various nationalities, and on the motion of Mr. *Wheeler,* seconded my Major *Wolff,* Mr. Cremer was unanimously elected honorary general secretary.

Mr. *Cremer* stated he would have preferred the election of M. Le Lubez who was in every way qualified to occupy so important a post but as M. Le Lubez positively declined he, Mr. Cremer, would accept it until the Association had adopted a platform of principles, framed their laws, and fairly started. He should then resign the office.

A very long and animated discussion then took place with regard to the principles on which the Association should be based, and ultimately on the motion of Mr. *Dell,* seconded by Mr. *Trimlett,* a sub-committee of 9 were appointed to draw up a platform of principles, such principles to be discussed at the next meeting of the General Committee.

The following were then elected as the Sub-Committee: Messrs. Whitlock, Weston, Dr. Marx, M. Le Lubez, Major Wolff, Mr. Holtorp, and Mr. Pidgeon, the Chairman and Secretary to be members by virtue of their offices.[6]

The meeting then adjourned to Tuesday, October 11th, 1864.

President*

W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

* In the Minute Book G. Odger's signature is erased.—Ed.

*SUB-COMMITTEE MEETING**

held at 80, White Cross St., October 8, 1864

Present: Major Wolff, M. Le Lubez, Messrs. Odger, Cremer, and Weston.[7]

Mr. *Odger* in the chair.

Mr. *Weston* brought forward and read a paper which he had drawn up as a declaration of principles.[8]

A very long discussion took place regarding the principles set forth in the paper, and it was ultimately decided on the motion of M. *Le Lubez*, seconded by Major *Wolff*: That Mr. Weston be requested to abridge and alter his paper and that it be then recommended by the Sub-Committee to the General Committee as the programme of the Association.

Major *Wolff* then proposed and Mr. *Cremer* seconded the following resolution:

That this Committee suggests as the basis of its operations the promotion of the moral, intellectual, and economical progress of the working classes of Europe by coming to an understanding with the various working men's associations all over Europe in order to obtain unity of purpose and unity of action, the two great means of arriving at the above-named results. Carried unanimously.

Major *Wolff* then read the Rules of the Italian Working Men's Association who have for some time been endeavouring throughout Italy to unite into one fraternal bond the various working men's associations.[9]

The Rules were highly approved by the Committee, and on the motion of Mr. *Cremer*, seconded by M. *Le Lubez*, it was decided to recommend them to the General Committee for their adoption.

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 3-4 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

M. *Le Lubez* then proposed and *Cremer* seconded:

That we recommend to the General Committee to fix the rate of contribution at a shilling a year for individuals and that for such sum each member be presented with a card and that the rate of contribution from organised bodies be as low as it can possibly be made. Resolution carried unanimously.

Adjourned.

President*

W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*GENERAL COMMITTEE MEETING***

*October 12,*** 1864*

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by M. *Le Lubez*, they were passed as correct.

The *Secretary***** then read the minutes of the Sub-Committee held on the 8th, which minutes were generally approved, and Mr. *Weston* read the paper he had at the recommendation of the Sub-Committee abridged, and which he believed would serve the Association as a platform of principles.

A very long discussion took place on the contents of the paper, and Major *Wolff* having at the request of the Committee brought forward and read the Rules of the Italian Working Men's Association, it was ultimately decided on the motion of Mr. *Carter*, seconded by Mr. *Wheeler:*

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* In the Minute Book G. Odger's signature is erased.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 5-6 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** An error. The meeting took place on Tuesday, October 11, 1864.—*Ed.*

**** Cremer.—*Ed.*

That the paper read by Mr. Weston and the Rules as read by Major Wolff be referred back to the Sub-Committee for revision.

Mr. *Dell* then proposed and Mr. *Hartwell* seconded:

That the best thanks of the Committee be given to Major Wolff and Mr. Weston for the abilities they have displayed, Mr. Weston in drawing up the paper and Major Wolff in translating into English the Rules of the Italian Working Men's Association. Carried unanimously.[10]

Mr. *Cremer* then proposed and Mr. *Whitlock* seconded:

That persons becoming members of this Association shall pay not less than 1s. per annum and that the rate of contribution for organised bodies be hereafter determined. Carried unanimously.

It was then discussed as to what should be the name of the Association, and Mr. *Wheeler* proposed and Mr. *Leno* seconded: That the Sub-Committee be deputed to enquire into and report to this Committee as to the advisability of merging this Association into the Universal League.

Mr. *Leno* said, as the objects sought by both associations were almost synonymous it would be far better to unite them and thereby unite their efforts.[11]

As an amendment Mr. *Whitlock* proposed and Mr. *Eccarius* seconded: That the name of the Association be the International Working Men's Association.

For the amendment—16, for resolution—4. The Association is therefore entitled the International Working Men's Association.

It having been stated that Major Wolff was about to visit Naples and would attend the working men's congress about being held in that city,[12] Mr. *Cremer* proposed and M. *Le Lubez* seconded:

That Major Wolff be deputed to enquire of the Italian working men through their deputies in congress assembled if they are willing to enter into a fraternal bond with the working men of the other countries of the world and, if

they are; on what basis such bond should be established. Carried unanimously.

The Secretary was instructed to forward to Major Wolff credentials for this Committee.

The following were then added to the General Committee:

Mr. Rybczinski proposed by Mr. *Holtorp*, seconded by Mr. *Fox*;

M. Talandier proposed by Major *Wolff*, seconded by Mr. *Fox;*

M. G. Nusperli proposed by M. *Le Lubez*, seconded by M. *Bordage.*

Mr. G. P. Fontana proposed by Major *Wolff*, seconded by Mr. *Lama;*

Mr. J. R. Taylor proposed by *Wheeler*, seconded by *Whitlock*, and on the motion of Major *Wolff*, seconded by M. *Le Lubez*, Mr. M. G. Nusperli was elected corresponding secretary for Switzerland.

The meeting then adjourned to October 19, 1864.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

October 19, 1865**

The President*** being absent on important business, on the motion of Mr. *Weston*, seconded by Mr. *Fox*, Mr. Eccarius was elected to take the chair, and the minutes of the former meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Fox*, seconded by *Holtorp.*

Mr. Wolff of Luxemburg was then elected a member of

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 7-8 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** An error. The meeting took place on Tuesday, October 18, 1864.—*Ed.*

***Odger.—*Ed.*

the Council on the proposition of *Lubez*, seconded by *Bordage*.

Mr. *Taylor* then referred to his position in connection with the Universal League and this Council, but having been called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Taylor stated his intention to (for the present) withdraw from the Council.

M. *Le Lubez* then read the programme and rules which the Sub-Committee had agreed to submit to the General Council.[13]

After the reading of the above a long discussion took place, Mr. *Worley* objecting to the statement that the capitalist was opposed to the labourer. He also ridiculed the idea of the French supplanting English workmen or vice versa.

Mr. *Carter* in some pertinent remarks replied to Mr. Worley as did M. *Le Lubez*, Dr. *Marx* and others, after which Mr. *Cremer* proposed, *Marx* seconded, *that the programme as read by Le Lubez be adopted.*

As an amendment Mr. *Worley* proposed and *Weston* seconded to strike out the words: *"capital and land in the hands of the few"*.

For the amendment—2, for the resolution—12.

Mr. *Fontana* then proposed, *Lama* seconded, that the substance of the programme be accepted. Carried unanimously.

Mr. Fox on the motion of Mr. *Fontana*, seconded by *Wheeler*, was added to the Sub-Committee who were instructed to put into a definite form the preamble and rules and submit the same to the next meeting of the Central Council.

A letter was read from Mr. Facey announcing his resignation as a member of the Central Council.

A letter was also read from Major Wolff explaining a misunderstanding which has arisen from his having opposed the election of M. Sassinari; the explanation was considered satisfactory.

Mr. Morgan on the proposition of Mr. *Carter*, seconded by *Wheeler*, was elected on the Central Council.

The meeting then adjourned to November 1st.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

November 1, 1864

Mr. G. *Odger* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were confirmed, as read, on the proposal of *Lubez*, seconded by *Eccarius*.

The following were elected on the Central Council:

Mr. Side proposed by *Whitlock*, seconded by *Cremer*;

Mr. Pfänder proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Eccarius*;

Mr. Lessner proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Eccarius*;

Mr. Jung proposed by *Nusperli*, seconded by *Lubez*;

Mr. Dick proposed by *Blackmore*, seconded by *Carter*;

Mr. Merriman proposed by *Dell*, seconded by *Blackmore*;

Mr. Grossmith proposed by *Dell*, seconded by *Blackmore*;

Mr. Dupont proposed by *Lubez*, seconded by *Carter*.

Dr. *Marx* then read the Preamble, Address and Rules which the Sub-Committee had definitely agreed on and which they recommended to the Central Council for adoption.

Mr. *Whitlock* thought some explanation (in the form of a footnote) should be given as to the terms "nitrogen" and "carbon".

Messrs. *Carter*, *Grossmith* and others spoke in favour of the Address.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 8-9 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Mr. *Whitlock* proposed, Mr. *Carter* seconded: *That the Address do pass as read.*

As an amendment Mr. *Worley* proposed and Mr. *Wheeler* seconded: *That the word "profitmongers" be erased.*

For amendment—11, for resolution—10. The amendment being carried, the word "profitmongers" was struck out and the Address was unanimously agreed to.

Dr. *Marx* then read the Preamble, and on the motion of Mr. *Wheeler,* seconded by *Blackmore,* it was carried unanimously.

The Rules were then discussed, and on the proposition of Mr. *Dell,* seconded by *Whitlock,* the Preamble, Address and Rules were unanimously agreed to.*

Mr. *Wheeler* then proposed and Mr. *Dell* seconded that the thanks of the Central Council be given to Dr. Marx, Mr. Weston and M. Le Lubez for their exertions and the production of so admirable an address.[14] Carried unanimously.

The question of printing the Rules was adjourned to the next meeting.

The Council then adjourned to November 8th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING***

November 8, 1864

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting on the motion of Mr. *Fox,* seconded by Mr. *Holtorp,* were confirmed.

* See "Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association" and "Provisional Rules of the Association" on pp. 277-91 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The heading and date are written in Cremer's hand; further, on pp. 9-10 of the Minute Book, the minutes are in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary** read a letter from Professor Beesly respectfully declining to serve on the Committee, also from M. Talandier thanking the Committee for electing him a member and wishing to know if he could remain a member without taking part in or attending the meetings, as the distance he lived from London would prevent him doing so.

A letter was also read from M. Bocquet asking the same question.

The following were then elected on the Central Council:

Mr. George Lochner proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Carter*;

Mr. William Kaub proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Carter*;

Mr. Bolleter proposed by *Holtorp*, seconded by *Fontana*;

Mr. Austin Holyoake proposed by Mr. *Fox*, seconded by *Weston*.

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Jung* seconded, that any person not being able to attend the meetings cannot be a member of this Council.

Dr. *Marx* called attention to the reports in the *Morning Star* and *Bee-Hive* of the last meeting and complained that in such reports one of the fundamental principles of the Association, viz., truth, had been violated; he also complained of the Address having been published without the sanction of the Committee.[15]

The *Secretary* explained that he had nothing to do with the reports, at which he was very much surprised; he believed Mr. Hartwell had supplied the reports in question.

To obviate the recurrence of such erroneous reports Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Fontana* seconded:

That the Secretary purchase a manifold writer and for the future all reports for the press be sent through the Secretary.

* Cremer.—*Ed.*

Mr. *Aldovrandi* proposed and Mr. *Carter* seconded:

That Dr. Marx be requested to correct the typographical errors in the Address and that 500 copies of the Address, Programme[16] and Rules be printed. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Dick* proposed, Dr. *Marx* seconded, that the question of cards be left till the next meeting.

Mr. *Morgan* proposed, Mr. *Weston* seconded:

That all members be summoned to the next meeting and that those who do not attend or apologise for their absence be considered as wishing to withdraw from the Council. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Cremer* gave notice of his intention of calling the attention of the Committee to the advisability of providing a home for the Association.

The meeting then adjourned.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

November 15, 1864

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Weston*, seconded by *Whitlock*.

The *Secretary*** read letters from several members apologising for their non-attendance.

A long discussion took place regarding absent members of the Council who reside too far away to allow them to attend its meetings.

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 11-12 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Cremer.—*Ed.*

A resolution proposed by Mr. *Whitlock*, seconded by Mr. *Dick*, to elect them corresponding members of the Committee was ultimately withdrawn with the understanding that as the present Committee was merely provisional in its character that all who had been elected on it should remain, but that no new member should be elected who resided at such a distance as to preclude him from attending the meetings.

Mr. *Cremer* then proposed, M. *Le Lubez* seconded: That 1,000 [copies of the] Address and Rules be printed. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Dick* proposed that the design for the cards be referred to the Sub-Committee and that 1,000 be printed.

A long discussion then took place with regard to the terms on which organised bodies should be received into the Association, and ultimately on the motion of Dr. *Marx*, seconded by Mr. *Blackmore*, the question was adjourned to the next meeting.

Mr. *Cremer* then brought forward a plan to provide a home for the Association which was agreed to be referred to the Sub-Committee.

The *Secretary* then stated that as he had only accepted office till the Rules had been framed and adopted, and such having been done, he now tendered his resignation.

The meeting having refused to accept the resignation, Mr. *Blackmore* proposed, Mr. *Whitlock* seconded:

That Mr. Cremer be requested still to continue office till after the assembling of the congress. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Cremer* would have preferred that the meeting had elected another but he would accept it on the condition, viz., that it was to be an honorary position.[17]

Mr. *Weston* proposed, Mr. *Longmaid* seconded, a vote of thanks to the *Bee-Hive* for the insertion of the Address, Rules, etc.[18] Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Dick* proposed, Mr. *Whitlock* seconded, that M. Le Lubez be elected assistant secretary. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to November 22nd.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

November 22, 1864

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Dr. *Marx*, seconded by Mr. *Dell*.

The following were then elected on the Central Council:

Mr. Buckley proposed by *Dell*, seconded by *Shaw*;

Mr. Lake proposed by *Dell*, seconded by *Shaw*;

M. Solustri proposed by *Fontana*, seconded by *Setacci*;

L. Otto proposed by *Eccarius*, seconded by Dr. *Marx*.

Some correspondence was then read from Major Wolff and Mr. Joshua Wood.

Mr. *Dick* proposed, Mr. *Dell* seconded:

That the *Bee-Hive* be made the organ of the Association. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Cremer* then brought forward his motion regarding a home for the Association and he proposed that three trustees be elected to take a home for the Association. Carried unanimously.

The following were then elected as trustees:

Mr. G. Wheeler proposed by Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Mr. *Fontana*;

Mr. W. Dell proposed by Dr. *Marx*, seconded by Mr. *Fox*;

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 12-14 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Mr. Weston proposed by *Jung*, seconded by *Lubez*.

Mr. *Morgan* then proposed and Mr. *Dick* seconded:

That the Sub-Committee be empowered to take suitable premises as a home for the Association and that the members of the Council be recommended to give to the trustees a small personal guarantee securing them against any loss. Carried unanimously.

The following members of the Committee then gave guarantees for the following sums:

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Dr. Marx	2	0	0	Mr. Kaub	0	10	0
Mr. Cremer	0	10	0	Dick	0	10	0
Fox	0	10	0	Howell	0	5	0
Eccarius	0	10	0	Leroux	0	10	0
Holtorp	0	10	0	Lama	0	10	0
Rybczinski	0	10	0	Setacci	0	10	0
Bolleter	0	10	0	Carter	0	10	0
Lessner	0	10	0	Fontana	2	0	0
Otto	0	10	0	Jung	1	0	0
Morgan	0	10	0	Lubez	1	0	0

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Wheeler* seconded:

That organised bodies of working men be invited to join this Association in their co-operative capacity, the amount of their contributions to be left to their means and discretion.

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Wheeler* seconded:

That societies joining this Association shall have the power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to accept or reject such delegates.[19] Carried unanimously.

The following were then elected as vice-presidents of the Central Council:

Mr. Eccarius proposed by Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Dr. *Marx*;

Mr. Setacci proposed by Mr. *Wheeler*, seconded by *Fontana*.

The following were also elected as deputies to visit organised bodies of workmen:

Mr. Jung proposed by Mr. *Lubez*, seconded by Dr. *Marx*;

Kaub proposed by *Jung*, seconded by *Fox*;

Fontana proposed by *Wheeler*, seconded by *Lubez*;

Morgan proposed by *Jung*, seconded by *Lubez*;

Lubez proposed by *Wheeler*, seconded by *Fontana*;

Howell proposed by *Wheeler*, seconded by *Lubez*;

Weston proposed by *Jung*, seconded by *Eccarius*.

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Howell* seconded:

That Mr. L. Otto be authorised to correspond in the name of this Association with the friends of progress in Spain. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Dick* proposed, Mr. *Howell* seconded:

That an address of congratulation on the re-election of Mr. Lincoln be presented by this Council to the people of America and that the Sub-Committee do prepare the same. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Wheeler* then proposed, Mr. *Fontana* seconded, that Messrs. Carter and Howell be added to the Sub-Committee. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to the 29th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

November 29, 1864

The *President* in the chair.**

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, Mr. *Eccarius* proposed, *Lessner* seconded their confirmation. Carried unanimously.

* The beginning of the minutes is in an unknown hand on p. 15 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

The following were then added to the Council:

Mr. D. Cornelius, Mr. Thos. Smales, and Mr. Petersen on the motion of Mr. *Eccarius*, seconded by Mr. *Lessner*;

Mr. Alexander Schantzenbach proposed by *Holtorp*, seconded by *Rybczinski*;

Dr. G. Bagnagatti proposed by *Fontana*, seconded by *Lama*;*

Mr. Hopkin Williams proposed by Mr. *Weston*, seconded by Mr. *Fox*.

The following resolution was then proposed by Dr. *Marx*, seconded by Mr. *Fontana*, and carried unanimously:

That no one be elected on the Central Council who has not previously paid his annual subscription as a member of this Association.

Dr. *Marx* then brought up the report of the Sub-Committee, also a draft of the address which had been drawn up for presentation to the people of America congratulating them on their having re-elected Abraham Lincoln as President. The address is as follows and was unanimously agreed to:**

"TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

"Sir,—We congratulate the American people upon your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the Slave Power was the reserved watchword of your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your re-election is Death to Slavery.

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* From here on the minutes are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 169, January 7, 1865, carrying the text of the address, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

"From the commencement of the Titanic-American strife the working men of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class. The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labour of the emigrant or prostituted by the tramp of the slave-driver?

"When an oligarchy of 300,000 slave-holders dared to inscribe for the first time in the annals of the world 'slavery' on the banner of Armed Revolt, when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great Democratic Republic had first sprung up, whence the first Declaration of the Rights of Man was issued, and the first impulse given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness, gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the old constitution', and maintained 'slavery to be a beneficent institution', indeed, the old solution of the great problem of 'the relation of capital to labour', and cynically proclaimed property in man 'the corner-stone of the new edifice',—then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the fanatic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slave-holders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labour, and that for the men of labour, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic. Everywhere they bore therefore patiently the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention—importunities of their betters—and, from most parts of Europe, contributed their quota of blood to the good cause.

"While the working men, the true political powers of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted it the highest prerogative of the white-skinned labourer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

"The working men of Europe feel sure that, as the American War of Independence initiated a new era of ascendancy for the middle class, so the American Anti-Slavery War will do for the working classes. They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world.

"Signed, on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, the Central Council:
"Longmaid, Worley, Whitlock, Fox, Blackmore, Hartwell, Pidgeon, Lucraft, Weston, Dell, Nieass, Shaw, Lake, Buckley, Osborne, Howell, Carter, Wheeler, Stainsby, Morgan, Grossmith, Dick, Denoual, Jourdain, Morrissot, Leroux, Bordage, Bocquet, Talandier, Dupont, L. Wolff, Aldovrandi, Lama, Solustri, Nusperli, Eccarius, Wolff, Lessner, Pfänder, Lochner, Kaub, Bolleter, Rybczinski, Hansen, Schantzenbach, Smales, Cornelius, Petersen, Otto, Bagnagatti, Setacci; George Odger, President of Council; *P. V. Lubez*, Corresponding Secretary for France; *Karl Marx*, Corresponding Secretary for Germany; *G. P. Fontana*, Corresponding Secretary for Italy; *J. E. Holtorp*, Corresponding Secretary for Po-

land; *H. F. Jung*, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland; *William R. Cremer*, Honorary General Secretary. 18, Greek Street, Soho."*

A long discussion then took place as to the mode of presenting the address and the propriety of having a M.P. with the deputation; this was strongly opposed by many members who said working men should rely on themselves and not seek for extraneous aid.

The *Secretary* stated he had corresponded with the American Minister and he, the Secretary, had no doubt that if Mr. Adams was asked that he would appoint a time to receive the deputation.

It was then proposed by *Whitlock*, seconded by *Eccarius*, and carried unanimously:

That the Secretary correspond with the United States Minister asking him to appoint a time for receiving the deputation, such deputation to consist of the members of the Central Council.**

Mr. *Wheeler* proposed, *Le Lubez* seconded:

That the names of all those who are present be appended to the address, also those who are absent and are willing to endorse the views set forth in the address.[20]

Question of members' cards. Mr. *Lubez* proposed, Mr. *Lama* seconded:

That 1,000 cards be printed and that 1d. each be charged for them. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Fox* then brought forward the following resolution which was seconded by Mr. *Wheeler*, spoken to by Mr. Holtorp,[21] and unanimously adopted:

Resolved that the Polish war of independence was made in the general interests of the peoples of Europe; that in

* The newspaper clipping ends here. Further, on p. 16 of the Minute Book, the minutes are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** Further, on pp. 16-17 of the Minute Book, the minutes are in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

its defeat the cause of civilisation and human progress suffered a severe shock; 2nd, that Poland has an unimpeachable claim upon the leading nations of Europe to contribute by every necessary means towards the restoration of her national sovereignty.

Mr. Fox also proposed that an address from the British section of the Central Council be drawn up and presented to the Polish people. It was referred to the Sub-Committee to prepare such address.

The meeting then adjourned till December 13th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

December 13, 1864

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Mr. *Whitlock*, were confirmed.

The following was then elected on the Central Council: Mr. Hansen proposed by *Bolleter*, seconded by *Lessner*.

The *Secretary*** stated that he had corresponded with Mr. Adams, the United States Minister, and had arranged with his secretary for the Council to present the address on Tuesday next, the 20th inst., at 6 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. *Le Lubez* proposed and Mr. *Whitlock* seconded:

That the Council meet on Tuesday evening next at 18, Greek St., at 6 o'clock in the evening. Carried unanimously.

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 17-18 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Cremer.—*Ed.*

Dr. *Marx* proposed and Mr. *Dell* seconded:

That Mr. Whitlock be elected financial secretary. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Fox* then read the address which he proposed should be adopted by the British section of the Association and then transmitted to the National Government of Poland.

A long discussion took place consequent on certain statements contained in the address and which statements[22] were opposed by Mr. *Jung, Le Lubez,* Dr. *Marx* and supported by Mr. *Carter.*

Mr. *Fox* replied defending the statement that the traditional foreign policy of France had been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland.

Mr. *Cremer* thought it important that the truth of this statement should be ascertained and would propose that the further consideration of the address be deferred till the next meeting.

Mr. *Morgan* seconded the motion. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Cremer* proposed that during the ensuing holidays a festive gathering of the members and friends be held to celebrate the foundation of the International Association and that for the purpose of carrying out the foregoing a committee of three be appointed to make enquiries and report to the next meeting. Carried unanimously.

Messrs. Fontana, Bolleter and Cremer were elected as the Committee.

Mr. *Fontana* then stated he had been deputed by the Italian Working Men's Association in London, which Association numbered about 350 members, to ask for their admission into the Association, and he could also state the band of that association would attend the festive gathering.

Mr. *Bolleter* stated he had no doubt the German chorus would also attend.

Mr. *Whitlock* proposed and *Le Lubez* seconded:

That the Italian Working Men's Association be admitted as members of the International Association. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOHN WESTON, Vice-President *pro tem.*
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

December 20, 1864

Mr. *Weston* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Mr. *Fontana.*

A discussion took place as to the soirée, the Sub-Committee having reported the price of halls, and Mr. *Le Lubez* proposed, Mr. *Fontana* seconded, that the soirée be held in Cambridge Hall, Newman St., on Monday evening, January 9th, the price of admission to be a shilling to tea and 6d. after tea.

Mr. *Cremer* read a letter from Mr. Adams, the United States Minister, suggesting that the address to President Lincoln be sent to him, Mr. Adams, instead of being brought.

Dr. *Marx* proposed, Mr. *Fontana* seconded, that the Secretary send the address to Mr. Adams.

Mr. *Worley* proposed, Mr. *Wheeler* seconded, that Mr. Adams be again appealed to to receive the deputation.

For amendment—5, for resolution—13.

Mr. *Fox* then resumed his defence of the address to the Polish National Government and in an able address contended for the truth of the assertions therein contained.

* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 18-19 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

After some discussion it was agreed to adjourn the question till the next meeting.

The meeting then adjourned to Thursday, December 29th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

December 29, 1864

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Mr. *Le Lubez*.

The question of cards of membership was then discussed, and it was ultimately agreed that the cards being so badly executed they should be returned to the printer.

The soirée was then discussed, and on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Mr. *Fox*, it was agreed to invite Messrs. Beales, Beesly and Harrison, also that the Secretary send cards of invitation to the editors of the weekly papers.

It having been stated that the Italian band could not attend on the 9th, it was agreed to postpone the soirée till the 16th of January.

Mr. *Fox* stated in the absence of Dr. Marx he should defer any discussion on the address to the National Government of Poland.

A long and desultory discussion then took place on the propriety of the Association taking up the question of the suffrage, and ultimately Mr. *Cremer* gave notice of his intention to move at the first opportunity that the Council deem it desirable to agitate for the complete suffrage.[23]

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 19-20 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

It was then agreed that the Council for the future meet on Tuesday evening, Thursday being too late for the press.[24]

The meeting then adjourned to Tuesday, January 3, 1865.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

January 3, 1865

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The *Secretary*** read the minutes of the former meeting, which were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by Dr. *Marx*.

Dr. *Marx* handed in a German translation of the Address and Rules of the Association and stated that 50,000 copies had been circulated in Germany[25]; he also stated that a branch of the Association was being formed in Switzerland.[26]

A discussion then took place with regard to the non-appearance in the *Bee-Hive* of the address to Mr. Lincoln, and the following was then proposed by Mr. *Buckley*, seconded by Mr. *Odger*:

That the Editor of the *Bee-Hive* be written to requesting him to publish the address in the next issue.[27] Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Fontana* then handed in the following address:

TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

Friends,

The Association instituted for mutual progression amongst the Italian working men residing in London give their full approbation

* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 20-23 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Cremer.—*Ed.*

to your aims and method. They enter your compact and pledge themselves to the fulfilment of the duties contained in it. A bond of union has been formerly established at the recent working men's congress at Naples between most of the Italian working men's associations. A central direction has been elected and we have no doubt that what we now do, will be done at no distant period by that central direction for the bulk of our Italian confederate brothers.

To establish a general practical brotherhood, a general unity of aim amongst the working men of all nations, to promote everywhere and on the same basis their moral, intellectual and economical improvement, to embrace according to opportunities afforded all the important questions affecting the condition of working men, from taxation, electoral reform and political rights to mutual relief societies, co-operation and educational institutions (for this must be your aim), is no doubt a bold attempt fraught with difficulties requiring time and a persisting unconquerable activity on our part; still it is a grand moral and truly religious aim. It elevates our tastes from the inferior narrow ground of local interests to the higher principle of common aspirations for general interests; it points out the dawning of a new era which will cancel inequalities, compulsory ignorance, the present wages system, and [which will promote] the substitution of equal duties and rights for all, true national education and the association system for producing and consuming. It is the thing to be attempted and therefore we do join you. May our union last for ever!

> The Council of the Italian Working Men's Association of Mutual Progress: *D. Lama*, President. *G. P. Fontana, C. Setacci*, Vice-Presidents. *A. Vaccansi*, Treasurer. *G. Geninazzi, F. Fenili, F. Solustri, Gintini, Biloschy, Velati*, Councillors. Dr. *G. Bagnagatti*, Secretary.

After the reading of the above Dr. *Marx* resumed the adjourned debate on the address which it is proposed to send to the National Government of Poland, and in a very able historical resumé argued that the traditional foreign policy of France had not been favourable to the restoration and independence of Poland. The address of Dr. Marx was pregnant with important historical facts which would be very valuable in a published form.[28]

Mr. *Fox* in reply stated he did not defend the foreign policy of modern France; all he contended for was that the foreign policy of old France had been favourable to the independence of Poland.

The following was then proposed by Mr. *Jung*, seconded by *Le Lubez* and unanimously adopted:

That the views expressed in the address concerning the French foreign policy towards Poland not being borne out by historical facts, that it be amended so as to accord with the truths of history.

It was then unanimously agreed to invite Messrs. Beesly,* Beales and Harrison[29] to the soirée which is to be held on the 16th inst.

The meeting then adjourned to January 7th.**

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING****

January 10, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by M. *Le Lubez*.

The following address from the three German working men's societies in London was then read by the *Secretary*.****

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* In the Minute Book the name of Grossmith is struck out after Beesly's name.—*Ed.*

** The last sentence is in Cremer's hand. Apparently an error. See minutes of the next meeting.—*Ed.*

*** The beginning of the minutes is in Cremer's hand on p. 23 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 170, January 14, 1865, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

TO THE CENTRAL COUNCIL OF THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Fellow Workmen,

The Londoner Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein, 2, Nassau Street, Soho, at a general meeting, held on the 4th January, 1865, and attended by the delegates of the two kindred societies in the East and South of London, passed the following resolution: "That the three societies, the Londoner Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein, the Teutonia, and the Eintracht, as an affiliated body, join the International Working Men's Association as one society." The Londoner Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein was founded on February 7th, 1840, and is consequently a quarter of a century old. During the first years of its existence it was in constant communication with the Socialists and Chartists of this country. From 1846 to 1848 the French Social-Democratic Society, the Fraternal Democrats, and this Society, were united under the same roof. It was by means of these international communications that this Society was enabled to fulfil a great mission—that of propagating amongst the German working men those principles and ideas which agitated England and France at a time when all public discussion of social and political questions was next to impossible within the confines of the German Confederation. We have thus acted as interpreters between the East and West of Europe; we have contributed our mite towards removing the delusion amongst the working men of Germany, that Constitutional Government and the rule of the capitalists are synonymous with the welfare of the people. We hail with joy the prospect of an enduring international union between the too long estranged working classes of the different countries of Europe, being convinced that nothing but the combined action of the working men of the whole of civilised Europe will ever be able to resist the combined action of all the oppressors of Europe.

On behalf of the Eintracht, *W. Vogt, L. Loeber, O. P. Kessler.*

On behalf of the Teutonia, *A. Klinker, A. Lorenz, H. Konter.*

Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein, *Gocht,* President; *P. Van Hofen,* Secretary; *Schmelzer,* Treasurer.[30]

It was then proposed by Mr. *Whitlock,* seconded by M. *Le Lubez,* and carried, "That the three German Societies,

having subscribed to the principles of the International Association, be admitted, as affiliated societies, and the delegates from them take their seats as members of the Central Council."

A deputation from the National League for the Independence of Poland, and representatives of the National Government of Poland,[31] were then received, their object being to consult the Central Council as to the propriety of holding a public meeting to commemorate the Polish Revolution of 1863. Mr. *E. Beales*, on behalf of the National League, and Captain *K. Bobczynski*, as a representative of the Polish National Government, addressed the meeting, followed by Messrs. *Fox, Dunn,* Whitlock, Holtorp, Eccarius, Le Lubez, Jung, Cremer, Bolleter* and *Carter*, all agreeing that the independence of Poland was of paramount importance to the peace and liberties of Europe.

It was then proposed by Mr. *Lucraft*, seconded by Mr. *Eccarius*, and unanimously adopted, "That should the Polish Committee call the meeting, this Association pledges itself to assist by all means in its power the commemoration of the glorious, though unsuccessful, Revolution of 1863".

The Sub-Committee were appointed to act in conjunction with the Polish Committee and the National League to carry out the above resolution.**

The Council adjourned to January 17th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

* Evidently Dell.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here. The last sentence is in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

January 17, 1865

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, Mr. *Holtorp* complained that a protest he had made at the last meeting was not inserted in the minutes.

The *Secretary* said he had no recollection of Mr. Holtorp having made a specific or positive protest but if he wished it should be inserted in the next minutes. Agreed to.

The following is the protest referred to:

That J. E. Holtorp do protest against Captain K. Bobczynski and his companions who attended the meeting of the Council on January 4th** as being the representatives of the Polish Democrats or of the National Government of Poland.

Mr. *Wheeler* proposed, Mr. *Le Lubez* seconded:

That the minutes with the protest added be confirmed. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Lubez* then proposed, Mr. *Whitlock* seconded:

That the best thanks of the Council be given to the German chorus and the Italian band for their attendance and performance at the soirée. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Jung* proposed, Mr. *Wheeler* seconded:

That the Council thank the ladies who assisted at the refreshment department. Carried unanimously.

Mr. *Fontana* then proposed, Mr. *Aldovrandi* seconded, that Mr. Le Lubez be appointed provisional corresponding secretary for Belgium.

Mr. *Le Lubez* reported that Mr. Nusperli, Morgan, Odger and himself had attended a meeting at Greenwich on the

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 24-25 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** An error. The meeting in question was on January 10.—*Ed.*

previous Sunday evening and there was a prospect of a good branch being established there.[32]

Mr. *Morgan* having reported that several shoemakers' societies would meet on the 30th of this month, deputations were appointed to wait on them to join the Association.

The meeting then adjourned.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

January 24, 1865

Mr. *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Dell*, seconded by *Le Lubez*.

Correspondence was read from Switzerland in reply to a communication which Mr. Jung had forwarded[33]; by Dr. *Marx* from the Compositors' Society of Berlin, also from the General German Working Men's Association, both expressing their entire concurrence with the principles of the International Working Men's Association and regretting that there were legal impediments which prevented them from becoming affiliated members of the Association, but promising to send representatives to the congress.[34]

Dr. *Marx* also read a very interesting letter from the military commander** of St. Louis,[35] and a letter from M. Tolain having reference to the position they occupied in Paris in relation to International Working Men's Association.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 25 of the Minute Book. The heading and the first sentence are in an unknown hand. —*Ed.*

** J. Weydemeyer.—*Ed.*

A discussion then took place concerning certain statements or rumours in regard to M. Tolain, and it was agreed that before any cards of membership were sent to Paris that the truth of such rumours should be investigated.[36]

The following was then elected on the Central Council: Mr. Thomas Donatti proposed by Mr. *Dell*, seconded by *Odger*.

Dr. *Marx* then proposed and Mr. *Whitlock* seconded:

That nominations for the Central Council shall be made at least a week previous to the election, such election to take place in the absence of the candidate, and that the person to be elected shall before his nomination have taken a card of membership. Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to January 31st.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

January 31, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The *Secretary* read the minutes of the former meeting when Citizen Marx stated there was a slight error having reference to the German Working Men's Association.

The error having been rectified, the minutes were confirmed on the motion of Mr. *Whitlock*, seconded by Citizen *Fontana*.[37]

A discussion then took place regarding the period when the subscriptions of members should begin and end when Citizen *Marx* proposed and Citizen *Whitlock* seconded: That subscriptions begin on the First of January and end on the 31st of December.

* The beginning of the minutes is in Cremer's hand on p. 26 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Cremer* then proposed and Citizen *Fontana* seconded: That those who have been elected members of the Central Council but have not taken out their cards of membership by the 1st of March next, shall after that date be considered as excluding themselves from the Central Council.

The *Secretary* read a letter from the American Embassy in reply to the address from the Central Council to Mr. Lincoln; the reply was as follows:*

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES

London, 28th January, 1865

Sir,

I am directed to inform you that the address of the Central Council of your Association, which was duly transmitted through this Legation to the President of the United [States], has been received by him.

So far as the sentiments expressed by it are personal, they are accepted by him with a sincere and anxious desire that he may be able to prove himself not unworthy of the confidence which has been recently extended to him by his fellow-citizens and by so many of the friends of humanity and progress throughout the world.

The Government of the United States has a clear consciousness that its policy neither is nor could be reactionary, but at the same time it adheres to the course which it adopted at the beginning, of abstaining everywhere from propagandism and unlawful intervention. It strives to do equal and exact justice to all states and to all men and it relies upon the beneficial results of that effort for support at home and for respect and goodwill throughout the world.

Nations do not exist for themselves alone, but to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind by benevolent intercourse and example. It is in this relation that the United States regard their cause in the present conflict with slavery, maintaining insurgents as the cause of human nature, and they derive new encouragement to persevere from the testimony of the working men of Europe that

* The continuation of the minutes is in an unknown hand on pp. 26-29 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the national attitude is favoured with their enlightened approval and earnest sympathies.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

Charles Francis Adams

W. R. Cremer,
Honorary Secretary of
The International Working Men's
Association,
London.[38]

Citizen *Marx* then read an extract from the *St. Louis Daily Press* eulogistic of our Address and Rules and expressing their regret at not being able to publish the whole.[39]

Citizen *Le Lubez* read correspondence from Citizen *Fontaine*, the Secretary of the Universal Federation in Belgium. The communication stated that on the 11th of February the Federation would decide as to joining the Association. It also stated the Address and Rules had been translated and circulated, and asked for 500 cards of membership.[40]

Citizen *Le Lubez* proposed and Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Fontaine be the corresponding secretary (*pro tem.*) in Belgium. Carried unanimously.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Le Lubez*, seconded by Citizen *Marx*, that Citizens Wheeler and Cremer be deputed to attend the Council of the Universal League to ascertain if the Sub-Committee having been locked out of their meeting place was by the authority or sanction of that Council.

Citizen *Whitlock* proposed and *Blackmore* seconded, that a stamp be provided as the seal of the Association. Carried unanimously.

Citizens *Kaub, Lessner, Eccarius, Le Lubez, Jung, Cremer* reported their attendance on organised bodies. They had been everywhere courteously received and all had promised to further consider the question.

The *Secretary* then introduced the question of the suffrage, stating there was an attempt being made to organise a meeting for manhood suffrage and he thought the Council ought to watch the preliminary proceedings and for that purpose would propose that a deputation be appointed to attend the preliminary meeting which will be shortly held.[41]

A long discussion took place in which Citizens *Marx, Whitlock, Wheeler, Le Lubez, Carter* took part. Citizen *Wheeler* seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

The following were then elected as the deputation: Citizens Carter, Eccarius, Odger, Lubez, Whitlock, Cremer, Wheeler and Dell.[42]

It being stated that Citizen Dick, a member of the Central Council, was leaving for New Zealand, Citizen *Carter* proposed, Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Dick be appointed as corresponding secretary for that part of the world.

The meeting then adjourned to February 7, 1865.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

February 7, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Citizen *Le Lubez*, seconded by Citizen *Marx*.

Citizen *Cremer* gave the report of the Sub-Committee; they recommend to the Central Council the following:

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 29-30 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

That separate cards be issued to societies forming the Association, such cards to be of a general character stating that the society whose name it bore had affiliated itself to the International Association;

2nd. That all the money subscribed in England for individual cards be sent to the Central Council, but if any branch of the Association shall incur any legitimate expense, the Central Council may, if they deem it judicious, grant a sum for the liquidation of such debt;

3rd. That our Continental brethren be supplied with cards at 1s. each, which sums to be sent to the Central Council.

The* were proposed by Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by Citizen *Marx* and carried unanimously.

Citizen *Le Lubez* then read a letter from Paris referring to the rumours that Citizen Tolain was acting under the inspiration of the Palais Royal.[43]

A resolution having been proposed to the effect: That we reluctantly accept Citizen Tolain's resignation, Citizen *Carter* proposed and Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Tolain's resignation be not accepted as not the slightest belief is entertained in the above-named rumour.

Citizen *Carter* strongly contended for his motion, and the resolution having been withdrawn, Citizen Carter's amendment became the resolution and was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* then proposed and Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Lefort be appointed as our literary defence in Paris.[44] Carried unanimously.

The Committee then adjourned to February 14th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

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* A gap in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

February 14, 1865

President *Odger* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Citizen *Fontana*, seconded by Citizen *Eccarius*.

Citizen *Marx* then stated that a branch of the International Working Men's Association had been formed in Manchester[45]; he also read a letter from Mr. Ernest Jones on the subject of manhood suffrage.[46]

The letter was fully discussed.

Citizen *Marx* also read an extract from the German *Star*[47] which stated that** the Swiss were interesting themselves on behalf of the Association and that a meeting of the Republican League and French Swiss Society had been held; they had accepted the rules and would form branches throughout Switzerland with a central council in Geneva.

(Citizen *Le Lubez* then read a letter from Paris[48]; he also expressed his regret at having at the last meeting advised the acceptance of Citizen Tolain's resignation.)

Citizen *Weston* gave the report of the deputation to the City shoemakers. They had been cordially received and requested to attend the next meeting.

Citizens *Jung* and *Morgan* confirmed Citizen Weston's statement.

It had also been suggested that a deputation be appointed to visit the shoemakers in Shoe Lane on February 27th.

Mr. *Howell* also requested a deputation should wait on the Bricklayers' Executive.[49] Agreed to.

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 30-31 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Several words are erased here in the Minute Book and a correction introduced which was confirmed at the next meeting (see p. 73 of the present volume).—*Ed.*

Citizen *Francis* also introduced the question of cards of membership which after a long discussion was adjourned.

The meeting then adjourned to February 21st.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

February 21, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, Citizen *Le Lubez* said that the remark in the minutes which indicated that he had advised Citizen Tolain's resignation to be accepted was not exactly correct; he might have been a little hasty but he thanked those who had checked him.

Citizen *Fox* suggested that a slight alteration be made in that part of the minutes which referred to the Republican League in Switzerland.

This having been agreed to, the minutes were confirmed.

The *Secretary* said he had received a letter from the General Secretary of the Operative Bricklayers** stating that the society having subscribed to the principles of the International Working Men's Association had agreed to join as an affiliated body. Citizen Howell was their representative on the Council.

On the motion of *Whitlock*, seconded by Citizen *Marx*, Citizen *Le Lubez* then read some correspondence from Paris which referred to unpleasant proceedings having taken place there, and as it was generally agreed that it would

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* The minutes are in an unknown hand on pp. 31-33 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Coulson.—*Ed.*

be difficult to settle the differences by correspondence, it was decided on the proposition of Citizen *Whitlock*, seconded by *Fontana*, that Le Lubez be sent to Paris to investigate the differences existing between Citizen Lefort and Citizen Fribourg.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, Citizen *Lessner* seconded, that Mr. Schily be appointed to co-operate with Citizen Le Lubez in settling the differences.[50] Carried unanimously.

It was also agreed that the delegates be invested with power to act as circumstances may determine.

The *Secretary** then introduced the question of the suffrage; he also read a letter from Mr. Beales on the question,[51] and it was generally understood that no measure short of manhood suffrage would receive the support of the Council. It was also thought advisable that as many as could should attend the meeting on Thursday.[52]

Citizen *Wolff* having returned from his incarceration in the fortress of Alessandria was warmly congratulated by the Council, and Citizen *Whitlock* proposed, Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that the Central Council offer its congratulations to Citizen Wolff on his return to liberty. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Wolff* said he had been deputed by working men's societies in Alessandria and Brescia to express their friendly sentiments towards the Council, also that they cordially approved the objects of the Association and hoped soon to enter the bond of fraternal union.

Citizen *Fox* then introduced the question of the forthcoming Polish demonstration at St. Martin's Hall and proposed the following resolution:

That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association lend their unreserved support to the commemorative meeting for Poland on March 1st at St.

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* Cremer.—*Ed.*

Martin's Hall, and they invite the attendance thereat of their friends. Carried unanimously.[53]

The meeting then adjourned to 28th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL**

February 28, 1865

The *President*** in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, were confirmed on the motion of Citizen *Fox*, seconded by *Eccarius*.

Citizen *Le Lubez* proposed, Citizen *Morgan* seconded:

That the Operative Bricklayers be admitted as an affiliated body and that Citizen Howell be admitted to the Central Council as its representative. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Jung* then gave report from Middle District*** of shoemakers to which he had been deputed to attend.

Citizen *Marx* read correspondence from Manchester regarding the suffrage[54]; he also stated that he had withdrawn from any connection with the *Social-Demokrat*.[55]

M. *Le Lubez* gave in English and French a report of his mission to Paris.

Citizen *Fox* read Mr. Schily's letter in English and French.

M. *Tolain* and M. *Fribourg* who had come from Paris to give the Central Council an opportunity of questioning them concerning the differences which had sprung up

* The beginning of the minutes is in an unknown hand on p. 33 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

*** Further, on pp. 33-34 of the Minute Book, the minutes are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

between themselves and M. Lefort, and also to defend the course they had pursued, both addressed the Council, Citizen *Fox* translating their remarks into English.

A very long discussion took place on the report and the remarks of M. Tolain and M. Fribourg, the discussion being terminated by the adoption of the following resolution, proposed by Citizen *Carter*, seconded by Citizen *Weston*:

That the Sub-Committee together with the French members of the Central Council meet and further investigate the differences and if possible ascertain who is right.[56]

The Council then adjourned to March 7th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

March 7, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* then read to the Council the report of the Committee and the resolutions recommended by it in reference to the imbroglio in Paris.

It was agreed to consider the resolutions *seriatim*.

The reporter read the following first resolution proposed by the Committee:

I. Whereas Citizen Tolain has several times tendered his resignation and the Central Council has as often refused to accept it, the said Council now leaves it to Citizen Tolain and the Paris Administration to reconsider whether or not under present circumstances this resigna-

* The first three lines of the minutes are in Cremer's hand; further, on pp. 34-35 of the Minute Book, they are in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

tion be opportune. The Central Council confirms beforehand whatever resolution the Administration may come to on this point.

Citizen *Le Lubez* proposed and Citizen *Morgan* seconded an amendment accepting the resignation of M. Tolain without further words.

Citizens *Jung, Dupont, Whitlock* and *Marx* spoke in support of the resolution.

Citizens *Denoual, Le Lubez* and *Bordage* spoke in support of the amendment.

On a division the resolution was carried (dissentients —4).

The reporter then brought forward the second resolution, viz.

II. In deference to the wishes of a meeting of 32 members of the Working Men's International Association held in Paris* February 24,[57] and in obedience to the principles of popular sovereignty and self-government, the Central Council cancels its resolution relating to the appointment of an official vindicator for the French press. At the same time the Council seizes this opportunity of expressing its high esteem for Citizen Lefort, in particular as one of the initiators of the International Working Men's Association and in general for his approved public character,[58] and further it protests that it does not sanction the principle that none but an ouvrier** is admissible as an official in our Society.[59]

Citizen *Wolff* proposed that that part of the resolution which cancelled the nomination of Citizen Lefort be omitted.

This proposition was decided by the *President* to be equivalent to a rejection of the entire resolution.

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* From here the minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 35-37 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Worker.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Wheeler* read a letter on the subject from A. Campbell now residing in Paris.

The resolution was supported by the following citizens: *Fox, Jung, Dupont, Marx, Kaub* and *Carter.*

Citizens *Whitlock, Le Lubez* and *Wheeler* spoke against it.

On a division 11 voted for the resolution and 9 against. The resolution was therefore carried by 2 majority. Citizen *Holtorp* neutral.

Resolution III was then brought forward and discussed.

III. Resolution: The Council resolves that Citizens Fribourg, Limousin and Tolain be confirmed in their anterior positions and that the addition to the Administration of Citizen Vinçard is acknowledged.[60]

Citizen *Carter* proposed the above resolution be amended as follows:

The Central Council resolves that the present Administration with the addition of Citizen Vinçard be confirmed.

Citizen *Whitlock* seconded the amendment which was accepted and unanimously adopted.

The fourth resolution was then discussed and is as follows:

The Central Council earnestly requests the Administration at Paris to come to an understanding with Citizens Lefort and Beluze so as to admit them and the group of ouvriers they represent to be represented in the Administration by three members, but the Central Council while expressing such a wish has no power nor desire to dictate to the Administration at Paris.

Citizen *Le Lubez* opposed this resolution and Citizens *Howell, Jung, Wheeler, Marx* and *Carter* approved it.

The resolution was carried without a division.

In consequence of Citizen *Le Lubez*'s arguments a conversation ensued as to the powers of a branch society in France, its relations towards the Administration in Paris and the Central Council in London.

Citizen *Whitlock* proposed, Citizen *Wheeler* seconded:

That in case no compromise be arrived at, the Central Council declare that the group Lefort after having taken out their cards of membership, have the power under our Statutes to form a branch society.

Citizen *Howell* proposed, Citizen *Dell* seconded the following amendment:

That instead of passing a formal resolution the Central Council instruct its French Secretary* to make the above declaration, by letter, to M. Lefort and the Administration.

Citizen *Lubez* declared his preference for the resolution.

The amendment was carried with 2 dissentients.

The 5th resolution was then discussed and is as follows:

The Administration in Paris having expressed its readiness to acknowledge a direct delegation from the Central Council, the Central Council accordingly appoints Citizen Schily to be its delegate to the said Administration.[61]

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to March 14th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL***

March 14, 1865

The *President**** in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Citizen Wolff stating that he believed the Central Council had at their last sitting, by

* Le Lubez.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 37-38 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Odger.—*Ed.*

cancelling the appointment of Citizen Lefort, departed from the spirit of fraternity, he therefore as a member of the Central Council tendered his resignation.

The letter was discussed and Citizen *Cremer* proposed, Citizen *Fox* seconded, that Citizen Wolff's resignation be accepted.

As an amendment Citizen *Weston* proposed and Citizen *Whitlock* seconded, that the question be deferred to some future time.

For amendment—14, for resolution—6. The amendment was declared by the President to be carried.

Citizen *Le Lubez* read a letter from Citizen Lefort. He also stated it was a mistake to suppose he had been or was now in any way prejudiced in favour of Lefort or Tolain. He also read a letter signed by Citizens Bocquet, Denoual, and himself, protesting against the former decision of the Central Council in turning out Citizen Lefort, and another letter signed by Citizens Bordage, Leroux, Denoual, Bocquet, and himself, protesting against the appointment by the Central Council of anyone not a Frenchman as the delegate to the Administration in Paris.

Citizen *Marx* stated the protest was unnecessary as he, Citizen Marx, was certain that Citizen Schily would not accept the appointment if there was the slightest opposition to him: it was against Citizen Schily's wish that he had been elected.[62]

The *President* suggested the re-opening of the whole question. This was opposed by Citizens *Howell, Kaub* and *Cremer*.

The following resolution was then proposed by Citizen *Weston*, seconded by Citizen *Morgan* and carried unanimously:

That the Central Council having the fullest confidence in Citizen Lefort, earnestly requests him to retain the card of membership he has in his possession and hopes

that he will use his great influence to form a branch in France.

Citizen *Lubez* read a letter from Citizen Fontaine asking for his official appointment.

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Switzerland.

Citizen *Lubez* read a letter from Lyons, the answer to which was left to Citizen Lubez's discretion.

Citizen *Howell* gave a report of the meeting at Radleys Hotel on the 11th inst. between representatives of working men, representatives of the middle classes, and some few M.P.s. The meeting had been convened to discuss the necessity of an agitation for manhood suffrage and to effect a union between the M.P.s., the middle and working classes, which endeavour he thought had failed.[63]

After some discussion of the question Citizen *Cremer* proposed, Citizen *Hartwell* seconded, that the further discussion of the question be adjourned.

Citizen *Cremer* stated his intention of proposing at the next sitting: That the Central Council should appoint delegates to the forthcoming Reform Conference at Manchester. He also nominated Citizen Coulson as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Dupont* nominated Citizen Devaster as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Howell* proposed, Citizen *Jung* seconded:

That the whole of the resolutions passed at the sittings of March the 7th and 14th* bearing on the differences between Citizen Lefort, Citizen Fribourg, and Citizen Tolain be transmitted by the French Corresponding Secretary** to the above-named citizens. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Weston* gave notice of the following propositions for discussion at the earliest opportunity:

* The words "that the whole of the resolutions passed at the sittings of March the 7th and 14th" were inserted when the minutes were confirmed at the Council's next meeting.—*Ed.*

** Le Lubez.—*Ed.*

1st. Would not an advance of wages of any particular section of industry be secured at the cost of the other sections.

2nd. Would not the supposed advantages of a general rise in wages be negatived by the corresponding advance in prices.

The Council then adjourned till March 21st.

J. G. ECCARIUS, President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

March 21, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting after some slight alterations suggested by Citizen *Lubez* were confirmed.

The following were then elected members of the Central Council:

Citizen Devaster proposed by Citizen *Fox*, seconded by Citizen *Jung*;

Citizen Coulson proposed by Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by Citizen *Whitlock*;

Citizen *Lessner* then nominated Citizen H. Klimosch as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Cremer* proposed, Citizen *Kaub* seconded the following resolution:

That a deputation be sent to Manchester to the forthcoming Reform Conference, such deputation to urge on that conference the necessity of adopting manhood suffrage as the basis of their agitation and that the members of the International Working Men's Association are not prepared to agitate or work for anything less than manhood suffrage.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 39-40 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Some discussion ensued as to remarks which some members of the Central Council were said to have given utterance to, viz., that while they asked for manhood suffrage they were quite prepared to take anything less. The impropriety of such statements was unanimously condemned and a hope generally expressed that no member of the Central Council would again give utterance to such sentiments.[64] The resolution was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Cremer* proposed that Citizens Howell and Fox be sent as the deputation to Manchester.

Citizen *Fox* declined and proposed that Citizens Howell and Cremer be elected as the deputation.

Citizen *Whitlock* seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.[65]

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Geneva. The letter contained an account of an international banquet which had been held there on the 24th of February, the anniversary of the French Revolution of 1848. The letter also stated that the subject of the International Working Men's Association had been discussed at the banquet and was highly approved, also that five societies in Geneva had joined the Association and several others were considering the propriety of doing so. Citizen Jung also read a letter from Citizen Fribourg and it was agreed, as Citizen Lubez was not present, to adjourn any discussion on it till the next sitting.[66]

The following resolution was then proposed by Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by Citizen *Wheeler*:

That our French Corresponding Secretary* write to Citizen Lefort asking him if he is willing to avail himself of the powers contained in the Statutes and referred to in the resolution passed at the sitting of the 14th inst.[67] Also that he write to Citizen Fribourg informing him that the resolution of the 14th inst. was the practical applica-

* Le Lubez.—*Ed.*

tion of the Statutes and also was carrying out the resolution passed at the sitting of the 7th inst.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Fox* then proposed, Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, the following resolution:

That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association hereby acknowledges the high value of the services rendered to it on a recent difficult occasion by Citizen Schily and thanks him for the painstaking zeal and ripe judgement which he brought to bear in discharge of the commission entrusted to him by the Central Council.

Citizen *Fox* in bringing forward this resolution said that it had been proposed at a former sitting to thank Citizen Schily but as he, Citizen Schily, had been appointed by the Central Council as its special delegate in Paris, it was thought by several members of the Central Council that his appointment was a recognition of the services he had rendered and a proof of the confidence the Central Council had in him; but now that Citizen Schily no longer held the position as special delegate from the Central Council, the objections to thanking him had lost their force.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned till March 28th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

March 28, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 40-42 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary** read a letter from Mr. A. Walton announcing that he felt great pleasure in presenting to the Association his book on landed tenures.

The offer of Mr. Walton was accepted with thanks.[68]

The *Secretary* also read a letter from Citizen Le Lubez in answer to one from the General Secretary requesting him to communicate certain resolutions to Citizens Lefort and Fribourg. Citizen Le Lubez in his answer stated he had twice written to Citizen Fribourg but had received no reply and that he could no longer (consistent with his self-respect) correspond with Citizen Fribourg and the Paris Administration but that he would communicate to Citizen Lefort the request of the Council.

The letter was discussed by Citizens *Fox* and *Jung*, both of them stating they could not see how Citizen Le Lubez could act otherwise.

At the termination of the discussion Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Le Lubez* seconded:

That Citizen Dupont be deputed to correspond with the Administration in Paris. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Lubez* said he had received a second application from Lyons from citizens who stated they were well-known and who wished to form an administration there.[69]

Powers to issue cards of membership, and if he was satisfied with the guarantees they gave to form an administration there, were given to Citizen Le Lubez.

Citizen *Cremer* gave the report of the deputation to the shoemakers' conference. The deputation severally addressed the conference and were listened to with attention. Some questions were asked by [the delegates] and being satisfactorily answered, the delegate from Birmingham proposed and the delegate from Hull seconded the following resolution which was carried unanimously:

* Cremer.—*Ed.*

That we cordially agree with the principles of the International Association as represented so eloquently by the deputation from that body and pledge ourselves to join them for the furtherance of those principles and endeavour to spread their liberal and glorious ideas among our constituents.[70]

Some discussion took place as to the advisability of organised bodies being necessitated to pay something, but the discussion being out of order it was discontinued.

Citizen *Whitlock* gave a short report from the reform movement[71] after which Citizen *Lessner* proposed, Citizen *Eccarius* seconded, that Citizen Klimosch be elected on the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Bolleter* and Citizen *Lubez* nominated Citizen Jafery as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Citizen Beluze to Citizen Fribourg giving him reasons for not acting on the Paris Administration.

Citizen *Cremer* proposed, Citizen *Whitlock* seconded, that Citizen Fox be the official reporter of the Central Council for the press. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned to April 4th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary
DELL, Chairman*

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL***

April 4, 1865

The President and Vice-President*** being absent, Citizen *Jung* proposed, Citizen *Lessner* seconded, that Citizen Dell take the chair. Carried unanimously.

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* Dell was in the chair at the meeting of April 4, 1865, at which the said minutes were confirmed.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 42-43 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Odger and Eccarius.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Fox* (in absence of the Secretary who was unavoidably absent) read the minutes of the last meeting which were confirmed.

Citizen *Whitlock* objected to the use of the term "Citizen" in the reports for the press.

Citizen *Bolleter* defended it; it was agreed to postpone any discussion on the point until another occasion.

Letters were then read from Citizens Lubez and Denoual withdrawing from the Central Council because they had no confidence in the persons who represented the Association in Paris.

A letter was also read from Citizen Fontana signed by Citizens Lama, Solustri, Setacci and Aldovrandi announcing their intention of withdrawing from the Central Council unless Henri Lefort was reinstated in his former position of official defender of the Association in the Paris press.

Speeches were made by Citizens *Wolff*, *Dupont*, *Fox*, *Whitlock*, *Jung*, *Bolleter*, *Holtorp*, *Morgan* and *Weston*, in which no proposal was made to reconsider the decision at which the Council had arrived.

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Kaub* seconded:

That the resignations of Citizens Lubez, Denoual, Fontana, Aldovrandi, Lama, Setacci and Solustri be accepted. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Fox* made a statement of the reasons which had hitherto prevented the Polish refugees in London from forming a society and joining the Association.

Citizen *Holtorp* explained the cause of his differences with Messrs. Zabicki and Bobczynski.

Citizen *Kaub* read from the *Social-Demokrat* the report of a Mr. Becker's speech at Hamburg containing misrepresentations of the Association, and asked for authority to reply thereto in the name of the Association.[72]

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Buckley* seconded, that

Citizen Kaub be authorised accordingly. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Weston* proposed for discussion the following questions:

1st. Can the social and material prosperity of the working classes generally be improved by means of higher wages.

2nd. Do not the efforts of Trades Societies to secure higher wages operate prejudicially to the other sections of industry.

The proposer declared that he would support the negative of the first and the affirmative of the second proposition.

Citizen *Jung* proposed, Citizen *Dupont* seconded, that these questions be placed on the order of the day for discussion. Carried unanimously.[73]

The meeting then adjourned till April 11th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Chairman
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

April 11, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

On the reading of the former minutes Citizen *Whitlock* stated that he had not at the last meeting voted that the resignation of Lubez and the Italian members of the Central Council should be received; he did not recollect such a motion being put or he should have voted against it.

Every other member of the Central Council present declared such a resolution to have been fairly put and carried without a dissentient.

The minutes of the former meeting were then confirmed.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 44-45 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Letters were read from carpenters at Chelsea asking for a deputation to explain the principles of the International Working Men's Association, also from No. 1 Lodge [of] Operative Bricklayers to the same effect; deputations were appointed to attend both bodies.

The situations of corresponding secretary for France, also for Belgium, having become vacant consequent on the resignation of Citizen Lubez, Citizen *Jung* proposed, *Morgan* seconded, that Citizen Marx be corresponding secretary *pro tem.* for Belgium.[74] Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, Citizen *Cremer* seconded, that Citizen Dupont be appointed corresponding secretary for France. Carried unanimously.

A discussion then took place having reference to officers of the Association retaining after their resignation property or documents which properly belong to the Association.

Citizen *Longmaid* proposed, Citizen *Bordage* seconded: That all official correspondence and replies together with any official documents are the property of the Association and ought to be handed over to the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Jung* proposed, Citizen *Cremer* seconded, that Citizen Valltier be nominated as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Marx* stated that one of the 32 members who had met recently in Paris had been prosecuted by the French Government for publishing a pamphlet.[75]

The auditors, Citizens *Longmaid* and *Morgan*, gave in their report which* stated that the profits on the late soirée were *£8.6s.11½d.* and the balance in hand on the 28th of March last was *£6.3s.8½d.*

The report was received.

Citizen *Jung* proposed, Citizen *Morgan* seconded, that the accounts be audited quarterly.

* Several words here are erased in the original.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Howell* then proposed and Citizen *Whitlock* seconded, that the Secretary write to the Italian Working Men's Association and request them to send a delegate to the Central Council in the place of those resigned.

As an amendment Citizen *Weston* proposed and Citizen *Kaub* seconded, that the Secretary write to the President of the Italian Working Men's Association and inform him that the office of corresponding secretary for Italy is vacant.

The amendment was carried by a majority of 1, 9 voting for the resolution and 10 for the amendment.

Citizen *Whitlock* proposed and Citizen *Weston* seconded that the Council at its rising adjourn for a fortnight. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Longmaid* proposed and Citizen *Marx* seconded:

That the Secretary write to those members of the Central Council who have not taken their cards of membership and inform them that unless they do so on or before April 25, that they will be considered as wishing to withdraw and their names will accordingly be struck off the roll of councilmen. This resolution was considered by the Central Council necessary inasmuch as complaints had been made that a former resolution of a similar character* had never been communicated officially to absentee members.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

It was then agreed to that the proposition of Citizen Weston on the question of wages should come on for discussion on May 2nd and that members of the Association were eligible to attend the discussion, also that any member of the Central Council is at liberty to introduce a friend.

The Council then adjourned to April 25th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

* See p. 68 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

April 25, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Valltier was elected member of the Central Council on the proposition of *Jung*, seconded by *Cremer*.

The following were nominated for election on the Central Council: Lassassie proposed by *Lessner*, Schapper proposed by *Marx*, Narcisse Salvatella proposed by *Jung*.

Dupont gave report of his visit to Paris. The Administration has entrusted** him with 100 francs to pay to the Treasurer of the Central Council. He had not been able to meet as many of the members in Paris as he had wished, but he had been instructed to ask two questions: 1st, if Continental administrations shall at any time appoint a deputy or deputies to confer with the Central Council (as in the case of Citizens Tolain and Fribourg); are their expenses to be paid by themselves or deducted from members' subscriptions; 2nd, are the corresponding members on the Continent*** also members of the Central Council and, should they come to London, would they be allowed to vote.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, *Fox* seconded:

That if the expenses of Citizens Tolain's and Fribourg's journey to London are sanctioned by the Paris Administration, that the Central Council authorise their payment; also that the resolution of February 7th referring to the

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 45-47 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here six lines in the Minute Book are pasted over with a new text following the amendments introduced in the minutes at the next meeting of the Council (see p. 93 of the present volume).—*Ed.*

*** The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

expenses of branches be sent to Citizens Tolain and Fribourg for their future guidance.* Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Wheeler* proposed, Citizen *Marx* seconded, that Continental corresponding members be *ex officio* members of the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Jung* read letters from Geneva which stated that on April 2, 200 members had joined the Association and had elected a general committee of 15 members and a managing committee of 7.[76]

Jung proposed, *Marx* seconded, that Citizens Dupleix, Falconnet and Philipp Becker be the corresponding members of the Association in Switzerland. Carried unanimously.

A question being asked as to whether females were eligible as members, Citizen *Wheeler* proposed, *Bordage* seconded, that females be admitted as members. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from Ernest Jones on the suffrage[77]; he also read a letter from Citizen Fontaine asking for a declaration of principles. Questions in said letter referred to Sub-Committee.[78] He also read a letter from the compositors at Leipsic referring to their strike and expressing a hope that the London compositors would assist them.[79]

Citizens Fox, Marx and Cremer were deputed to attend the Compositors' Society.

Cremer proposed, *Weston* seconded:

That the Central Council invite the Emancipation Society[80] and the Trades Unionist Committee to meet together and organise a demonstration to celebrate the restoration of the American union and the abolition of slavery. Carried unanimously.

Fox proposed, Citizen *Whitlock* seconded:

That the Central Council having received the resigna-

* See p. 71 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

tion of Citizen Le Lubez, desires to record its sense of the value of the services he has rendered to this Association both in its inception and in the subsequent work of propagating its principles in this metropolis, and as Corresponding Secretary for France. The Council also looks forward with pleasure to the time when Citizen Le Lubez will find himself able to resume his place at our board. The resolution was lost, 3 only voting for it.

The meeting then adjourned to May 2nd.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

May 2, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

A slight alteration having been made in the minutes of the last meeting, referring to the expenses of the deputation from Paris, they were confirmed.

The following were then elected on the Central Council:

Narcisse Salvatella proposed by *Jung*, seconded by *Odger*;

Lassassie proposed by *Lessner*, seconded by *Bordage*:

Karl Schapper proposed by *Marx*, seconded by *Lessner*.

Marx gave a report from Paris stating there were changes about being made there in the Administration which when made would be fully reported to the Central Council.[81]

Dupont read a letter from Fribourg suggesting to the Central Council the propriety of opening a branch at St. Denis; he also read a letter he had received from Lefebvre; said letter contained passages from a letter of Lubez. The questions involved were referred to the Sub-Committee.[82]

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 47-48 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Cremer referred to the assassination of President Lincoln and proposed that an address should be drawn up and sent to the American people expressing the views of the Central Council on recent events in America, more particularly referring to the murder of Mr. Lincoln.

The resolution was seconded by *Lucraft* and carried unanimously.

Weston then read a portion of his paper on the question of wages[83]; the remainder was adjourned to the next sitting.

The Council then adjourned to May 9th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

May 9, 1865

The President and Vice-President being absent, Citizen *Dell* was voted to the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* gave report of deputation to [London] compositors, on behalf of the Leipsic compositors[84]; it would not be possible for that body to grant any money for a period of 3 months—the deputation had therefore failed in their effort.

Citizen *Jung* hoped we should devise some means of giving support to them as the loss of this strike would have a depressive influence on the trades of Germany generally.

Citizen *Weston* gave report of deputation to fur skin dressers; they appeared without any exception to be in a

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 48-50 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

pitiable condition but they had courteously received the deputation and promised to further consider the propriety of joining us.

Cremer gave report of Sub-Committee.

Citizen *Fox* proposed, *Jung* seconded, that the following resolution recommended by the Sub-Committee be adopted:

That whenever the French Secretary shall receive letters from any citizen or citizens who have been elected by workmen in their localities and who are anxious to open a branch, that he be empowered to reply to such communication and accept such offers without waiting for the assembling of the Central Council, but he shall report all such communications to the Central Council at their first sitting after such letters have been received.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Cremer proposed, *Odger* seconded:

That Citizen Dupont write to the Paris Administration requesting them to return a full and detailed account of income and expenditure up to the time of his writing. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Weston* seconded:

That the following resolution which had also been recommended by the Sub-Committee be adopted, also that the remarks of the Sub-Committee which accompany the resolution be endorsed. Carried unanimously.

The following are the remarks and resolution as drawn up by Sub-Committee at their sitting on May 6th:

"Two letters read, one from Citizen Lubez, the other from the Secretary of the Greenwich branch of the Association.* Lubez's letter was an explanation of his conduct since his resignation from the Central Council; the letter from Greenwich announced that Citizen Lubez's resignation as the representative of the Greenwich branch at the

* Mulchinock.—*Ed.*

Central Council had not been accepted. After some discussion on the two letters two statements contained in Citizen Lubez's letter were denied: 1st, that Citizen Lefort had first conceived the idea of the International Working Men's Association; 2nd, that *most* of the French members of the Central Council had resigned in consequence of Citizen Lefort's appointment having been cancelled, the fact being that only Citizen Denoual had resigned with Citizen Lubez. On the termination of the discussion the following resolution was passed:

"That it be suggested to Citizen Lubez that he should defer presenting himself at the Central Council for confirmation as delegate from the Greenwich branch until the Sub-Committee have received and reported on the letter he addressed to Citizen Lefebvre."

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Citizen Vinçard who had been appointed on the Paris Administration,* stating that the state of his health would preclude him from accepting the appointment, also expressing his best wishes for the success of the Association and regretting that he could not assist to make it so.

Jung proposed, *Marx* seconded:

That the General Secretary write to Citizen Vinçard thanking him for his past services and hoping that he will, as far as [is] consistent with his health, do his utmost for the interest of the Association. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Marx* read the address to President Johnson in reference to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

Cremer proposed, *Weston* seconded:

That the address be adopted, written on parchment, signed by the Central Council and transmitted to President Johnson through the United States Legation. Carried unanimously.[85]

Citizen Howell, who had been appointed to attend with

* See p. 78 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

Citizen Cremer the Reform Conference in Manchester on the 15th and 16th of May, having been elected by the Reform League[86] as its secretary and being deputed by that body to attend said conference,* his appointment from this Council was therefore on the proposition of Citizen *Wheeler*, seconded by Citizen *Marx*, cancelled and Citizen Odger was elected in his stead.

Citizen *Fox* asked if Citizen Lassassie had been mixed up in the Orsini plot.[87]

Citizen *Lessner* replied No.

Citizen *Fox* proposed, *Bolleter* seconded:

That Weston's question for discussion stand adjourned to Saturday, May 20th, at 8 o'clock, the entire sitting to be devoted to the discussion.[88] Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to May 16th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, President**
W. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL****

May 16, 1865

In the absence of the General Secretary who was in attendance as delegate of the Association on the Manchester Reform Conference, Cit. *Fox* read the minutes of the previous meeting which were confirmed.*****

Cit. *Marx* stated that he had sent to the *New York Tribune*[89] a copy of the Society's address to President Johnson. He also mentioned that there had been an immense

* See p. 83 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Here the words "*pro tem.*" are erased.—*Ed.*

*** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 50-51 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 188, May 20, 1865, carrying the printed text of the minutes, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

public meeting in Geneva in regard to the assassination of the late lamented President of the United States; that the Society's correspondent, Philipp Becker, had spoken at the same, and remarked upon the international character of the meeting.

Cit. Becker then proceeded to state that the Working Men's International Association was at the head of the new movement for popular rights,[90] which statement was received with cheers by the meeting.

Cit. *Fox* then read from the *Manchester Guardian* of the day a report of the first day's proceedings of the Manchester Reform Conference.[91]

Cit. *Weston* laid upon the table for distribution a number of copies of "A Requiem for Abraham Lincoln", addressed to the Liberals of Europe, and published in all the cosmopolitan languages. He stated that he had had an interview with the author, Mr. Leon Lewis, a citizen of the United States, resident in London, and proposed him as a member of the Central Council.

Cit. *Carter*, on the interpellation of the Acting Secretary,* stated the result of his interviews with a number of working men in Paris during his late trip to that city. He reported that all those with whom he spoke were entirely satisfied with the action of the Council in the matter of the late imbroglio.**

Citizen *Morgan* on behalf of Citizen Dell proposed William Bannister as a member of the Central Council. A long discussion ensued, said discussion being of a very discursive character, after which the Council adjourned to May 23rd.

President***

W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

* Fox.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned. The word "Vice-" before the word "President" is erased.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

May 23, 1865

The *President*** in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* in the absence of Citizen*** read a letter from Lyons[92] stating the tulle manufacturers were endeavouring to reduce the wages of their operatives giving as their reason for so doing that the competition with the English manufacturers was so keen as to compel them so to act. The letter asked for information as to the manufacture and price of tulle in England; it was agreed to write to Nottingham for said information.

A discussion took place regarding Lubez being kept from taking his seat on the Council.

Cremer proposed, *Eccarius* seconded:

That in case Lefebvre's letter[93] (the absence of which had induced the Council to suggest to Le Lubez the propriety of not presenting himself as councilman) is not forthcoming by Tuesday next, that Le Lubez be allowed to take his seat on the Council as the representative of the Greenwich branch. Carried. Citizen *Jung* neutral.****

Fox gave report of his interview with Mr. Adams, United States Minister, who had received the address and would transmit the same to the President.

The report was received.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 51-52 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

*** Here Denoual's name was written by mistake instead of Dupont's and then crossed out.—*Ed.*

**** This sentence was inserted when the minutes were confirmed at the next meeting.—*Ed.*

Cremer gave report of his mission in conjunction with Citizen Odger to the Manchester Reform Conference. They had fought hard for the principle of manhood suffrage but had been unsuccessful. They feared the conference like others which had preceded it would prove to be abortive of good results.[94]

The report was received and the action of the delegates approved.

Citizen *Weston* resumed the adjourned debate on his proposition regarding wages. He was followed by Citizen *Marx* who opposed Citizen Weston's views[95] as did Citizen *Wheeler*, after which *Cremer* proposed the adjournment of the debate till the 30th. Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

G. ODGER, President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

May 30, 1865

The *President*** in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read, *Jung* took objection to that portion of them referring to the resolution re-admitting Le Lubez to the Central Council and stated that the resolution had not passed unanimously as he, Citizen Jung, had remained neutral, a fact which he wished recorded.

The *Secretary* said it had been his practice when no opposition was offered to the passing of a resolution, to record it as being carried unanimously.

With the alteration suggested by Citizen Jung the minutes were confirmed.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 52-54 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* read communication from the United States Legation acknowledging the receipt of the address to President Johnson.

Citizen *Weston* proposed, *Whitlock* seconded, that Leon Lewis, a citizen of the United States, be elected a member of the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

Cremer proposed Citizen Stainsby be nominated as a member of the Central Council.

The *Secretary* introduced the question of cards of membership.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, *Whitlock* seconded:

That the Secretary have power to order cards should they be required. Carried unanimously.

The question of the proposed international exhibition was then discussed.

Citizen *Lucraft* stated he had attended one of the meetings and had informed those who were moving in the matter of the existence of this Association, a fact of which he found they were previously aware. He also advised them to communicate with the Central Council, but for some reason they had declined.

A long discussion took place having reference to so-called exhibition of working men, all who took part in the discussion declaring against Mr. Coningsby being allowed to represent himself as at the head of British workmen.*

Citizen *Cremer* protested against the selection of Mr. Coningsby, as British Secretary to the Anglo-French Committee, as being calculated to alienate from the Committee the sympathies of British Democrats.

Citizen *Fox* observed that the three first names on the celebration committee, namely, Michael Chevalier, Emile Ollivier and Emile Girardin, were not in good standing with the French Republicans.

* Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 190, June 3, 1865, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizens *Odger* and *Howell* held that Working-Class Exhibitions, both national and international, were being patronised by the wealthy classes at the present time, partly with the object of diverting the attention of the working classes from the nobler aim of the political enfranchisement of their class.

Citizen *Marx* recommended that the Council should concentrate its efforts upon promoting the success of the Working Men's Congress to be held in Belgium this year.

On the motion of Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by *Whitlock*,* the following resolution was passed: "That our French secretary inform the Paris Administration** that Mr. Coningsby is the avowed enemy of the working classes of Great Britain, and, consequently, the common enemy of the working classes of Europe, he having proclaimed in the columns of the *Times* his hostility to the suffrage being extended to the bulk of his countrymen."***

A discussion took place as to the publication of the above resolution, but on the motion of Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by Citizen *Shaw*, it was decided by 11 votes to 4 to publish the resolution and an epitomised report of the proceedings.[96]

It was then agreed on the motion of Citizen *Dell*, seconded by *Fox*:

That the Address and Rules of the Association be printed in French, Italian and German leaving to the Sub-Committee the power to order the quantity they may deem necessary.

Eccarius proposed, *Jung* seconded, that Citizen Schily

* The words "seconded by *Whitlock*" are inserted in hand in the printed text.—*Ed.*

** The word "Administration" is inserted in hand in place of the words "Committee of this Association" which have been struck out of the printed text.—*Ed.*

*** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

be requested to translate the Address and Rules into French. Carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* asked whether, as no reply had been received from Lefebvre, Citizen Le Lubez was to be notified that he was at liberty to take his seat on Central Council as representative of Greenwich branch.

It having been stated that some further difficulties might arise if Le Lubez came to the Central Council before the letter to Lefebvre was produced, *Dell* proposed, *Worley* seconded:

That the President and Citizen Kaub wait on Citizen Dupont in reference to the matter. Carried, 1 voting against.*

Citizen Kaub, as a deputy from the German Working Men's Mutual Improvement Association in London (Bildungs-Verein), stated that that body had been in the habit of commemorating, by a public meeting, the insurrection of the 24th June, 1848, when the working men of Paris were barbarously massacred by the soldiery in the service of the middle classes. The Bildungs-Verein had hitherto received their chief support on this occasion from their own members and French Democrats in London. They intended to repeat the commemoration this year, in the usual manner, and hoped for a wider support than ever from Democrats of all nations.**

The *Secretary* introduced the subject of a journal to represent the Association and stated that Citizen Leon Lewis was about to bring out a journal.

A long discussion took place on the question ending in the following resolution and amendment.

The resolution proposed by Citizen *Cremer*, seconded by *Worley*: That a deputation of 3 be appointed to wait on Citizen Lewis.

* Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 190, June 3, 1865, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

Amendment by *Dell*, seconded by *Lucraft*: That Citizen Lewis be invited to attend the next sitting of the Central Council. Amendment carried.

The Council then adjourned to June 6th.

W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary
President*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

June 6, 1865

The *President**** in the chair.

The previous minutes were read and confirmed.

The *President* introduced Citizen Leon Lewis to the meeting who made a long statement in regard to a newspaper which he contemplated bringing out; said journal would be of the most democratic character and he had no doubt of its being made a success. It had been to him a matter of great surprise that the working men of Great Britain had no organ which faithfully represented their interests. He thought it quite time such a want was supplied.

Citizens *Marx*, *Carter* and *Fox* agreed as to the necessity for such an organ.

Citizen *Cremer* would prefer that some control should be exercised over such journal by a body of working men.

Citizen *Lewis* would have no objection to a committee of advice and should always listen to their counsel and advice.

The following resolution was eventually proposed by Citizen Dell, seconded by Citizen *Jung* and carried unanimously:

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 54-55 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Odger.—*Ed.*

That Citizen Lewis send to this Council at its next meeting the exact conditions upon which he will co-operate with this Society and if this Council approve of such, it shall name any number to co-operate with Citizen Lewis, meeting at his office periodically.[97]

Citizen *Marx* stated that when Citizen Weston's propositions are again discussed he should read a paper in reply and propose a series of counter-resolutions.[98]

The *Secretary* stated he had received two letters from the Greenwich and Deptford branch referring to Citizen Le Lubez and his relation to the Central Council; he would propose that the questions involved be referred to the Sub-Committee.[99] Referred accordingly.

Citizen *Dupont* read a communication from Paris in reference to the cards of membership and their expenses.

The letters and their contents were referred to the Sub-Committee.

Citizen *Fox* suggested that handbills be printed and distributed broadcast, inviting members to the Association.[100] Referred to Sub-Committee.*

Citizen *Lewis*, being asked if he knew anyone who could and would fill the office of corresponding secretary for America, stated in reply he should have no objection to filling such post; on the [proposition] of Citizen *Dell*, seconded by Citizen *Eccarius*, Citizen Leon Lewis was unanimously elected corresponding secretary for the United States of America.

The Council then adjourned to June 13th.

W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary
President**

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* This sentence was inserted when the minutes were confirmed at the Council's next meeting.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

June 13, 1865

*President*** in the chair. The *Secretary* read the minutes of the former meeting which, with a slight alteration suggested by Citizen *Fox*, were confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Citizen Lewis stating his inability to attend the sitting of the Council, also that he had for the present decided to defer the issue of the *Commoner*.

The report of the Sub-Committee was then given by the *Secretary* with regard to the Le Lubez imbroglio; they had decided on the following resolution:

That this Committee feels bound to express its regret that Citizen Le Lubez should have written the passages he did in his letter to Citizen Lefebvre regarding the Paris Committee, but believing they were written under unfortunate impressions, considers that the resolution for his readmission should be strictly adhered to and carried into effect immediately. Also that Citizens Fox, Jung and Odger, be appointed a deputation to wait on the Greenwich and Deptford branch to explain to them the reasons which have actuated the Council in delaying the readmission of Citizen Le Lubez and passing the above resolution.

Citizen *Dell* proposed, *Howell* seconded, that this Council confirm the resolution of the Sub-Committee. Carried unanimously.

The Sub-Committee had also instructed Citizen Dupont to request the Paris Administration to get their accounts audited and forward a balance-sheet to the Central Council. Approved.

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Wheeler* seconded, that***

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 56-57 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

*** Here eight lines, cut out from the report carried by *The Bee-*

Citizen Lefebvre be elected correspondent for the Department of Neufchâteau. Carried unanimously.

THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE JUNE INSURRECTION

Citizen *Lessner* announced that the German Working Men's Mutual Improvement Association would hold their meeting in celebration of the above event in the hall of the Metropolitan Institution, Cleveland Street, on Wednesday, June 28.*

It having transpired that funds were wanting to pay the expenses incident to the meeting, Citizen *Wheeler* proposed, Citizen *Dell* seconded, that 12s. be voted for that purpose. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Jung* read a long letter from Geneva giving a long account of the progress they are making and asking when the Congress would assemble and what questions would be laid before it.[101]

A discussion took place regarding the Congress and the question was referred to the Sub-Committee.

Citizen *Dupont*** laid upon the table the first copy of the *Tribune Ouvrière*,[102] a new working men's paper started at Paris, owned, managed and edited exclusively by working men. One of the Association's correspondents was its publisher. He also acknowledged the receipt of some of the required information concerning the finance of tulle manufacture in England, which he would forthwith forward to the tullistes of Lyons now on strike.

Citizen *Holtorp**** announced that a Working Men's

Hive, No. 192, June 17, 1865, are pasted into the Minute Book. A stylistic change in handwriting has been made in the first two lines.—*Ed.*

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Bee-Hive*, No. 192, June 17, 1865, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The words "Citizen Holtorp" are in handwriting.—*Ed.*

Association had been founded among the Polish emigrants in London for the purpose of affording aid and information to their countrymen, who were now constantly arriving here from the Continent.*

The *President* introduced the question of Citizen Wolff returning his card to the Council. He had met Citizen Wolff who expressed regret that he had so returned his card and he, the President, thought the Council ought now to send Citizen Wolff back his card.

A long discussion took place on the question and the following resolution and amendment were submitted on the question:

Resolution proposed by *Wheeler*, seconded by Citizen *Fox*: That Citizen Wolff's card be returned to him.

Amendment by Citizen *Jung*, seconded by Citizen *Kaub*: That when any member returns his card to the Council that he cannot again have that card; but if he wishes to join again he must take out a new card.

Rider proposed by *Dell*, seconded by *Holtorp*: That the Secretary write to Citizen Wolff stating that he can have his card by asking for it.

Votes for resolution— 3
Amendment —10
Rider — 4

The Council then adjourned to June 20th.

W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary
J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING***

June 20, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 58 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The *Secretary* read a letter from G. Bagnagatti, the Secretary of the Italian Working Men's Association in London, informing the Central Council that Citizen L. Wolff had been appointed by said Association as their representative on the Central Council.[103]

Citizen *Fox* proposed, Citizen *Weston* seconded, that Citizen L. Wolff be accepted as the representative* of the Working Men's Association. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from St. Denis asking for 300 cards of membership, also requests from 4 places for permission to open branches of the Association.

The following were elected foreign corresponding secretaries: *Citizen Talbot of Caen, Citizen Ferdinand Duhamel of Lisieux, Citizen Ferret of Pantin, Citizen Bosc of St. Denis.* Proposed by Citizen *Marx*, seconded by Citizen *Weston.***

The Council having had their attention called to the frequent absence of the Financial Secretary,*** agreed to refer the question to the Sub-Committee.

Citizen *Jung* stated that having had occasion to visit the Silk Weavers' Society, he had introduced the principles of the International Working Men's Association, and he believed they would join.

Citizen *Fox* thought we ought to take immediate steps to increase our means of propagandism.

The *Secretary* thought it would be well to defer the question for a few weeks, the declaration of enrolment for societies would then be ready.[104]

Citizen *Marx* then read a part of his paper in reply to Citizen Weston's propositions on the question of *wages.*[105]

Citizen *Weston* thought that in the part of the paper read by Citizen Marx, that nothing had been advanced or

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* Here four lines are pasted over with a new text.—*Ed.*

** The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

*** Whitlock.—*Ed.*

proved which in any way affected the principles *he* affirmed.

Citizen *Cremer* thought Citizen Marx had given two or three practical illustrations or rather facts which completely destroyed the positions affirmed by Citizen Weston.

The question was adjourned till June 27th at 9 o'clock. Citizen Marx will then read the latter part of his paper and propose a series of counter-resolutions.

Citizen *Fox* reported the result of his and Citizen Jung's interview in the presence of Citizen Le Lubez with the members of the Greenwich branch. The reasons for the delay which had occurred in acknowledging their representation having been explained, the branch [in a] resolution expressed their satisfaction with the explanation and thanked the deputation for their attendance.

The Council then adjourned to June 27th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

June 27, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The report of the Sub-Committee was given by the *Secretary*. They recommended that as Citizen Whitlock, the Financial Secretary, was so often absent, that another citizen be elected in his stead.

Citizen *Whitlock* having explained the cause of his absence and stated that he might possibly have shortly to resign, it was agreed to waive any further discussion on

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 59-60 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the point until after the present quarter's accounts had been audited.

Citizen *Fox* called the attention of the Council to a point of order at a previous sitting: the President had allowed two amendments at the same time to be put to a resolution[106]; this he, Citizen Fox, contended was out of order and in this opinion he was fortified by the opinion of an eminent authority which he quoted. Said authority laid it down as a rule that there can be but one amendment at a time to one resolution; when that is disposed of, another may then be proposed.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from Citizen Lisieux accepting the position as corresponding secretary and asking for 500 cards. Letter also from Citizen Ferdinand Duhamel* also accepting position as corresponding secretary; another letter from Citizen Ferret of Pantin also accepting position as corresponding secretary. He asked for cards but stated that he did not expect to make many members just now as there was a dearth of employment and consequent distress amongst the workmen, but when prosperity returned he believed members would join the Association.

Citizen *Marx* then, after recapitulating the principal points in the first part of his paper which he had read at the last sitting, proceeded to read the latter part,[107] at the conclusion of which Citizen *Cremer* said there were many who would like to have both papers—of Citizen Weston and Citizen Marx's reply—printed,[108] but he hardly knew how the expense was to be met.

Citizen *Weston* questioned the correctness of the statement contained in Citizen Marx's paper having reference to agricultural labourers.

On the motion of Citizen *Eccarius* the debate was

* An inaccuracy in the minutes. Lisieux is a town in the Department of Calvados, France, where F. Duhamel was the Association's correspondent.—*Ed.*

adjourned to the next sitting to be opened by Citizen Eccarius.

The Council then adjourned to July 4th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, President
W. R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

July 4, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

On the *Secretary* reading the minutes of the former meeting, a slight correction was made in reference to the Continental corresponding secretaries. The minutes were then confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* stated that the ruling of the debate in the House of Commons last night had confirmed what he had asserted at the last sitting of the Central Council.[109] He also stated that he had not been able to obtain the requisite information as to the manufacture of tulle but he hoped the General Secretary would do so on his visit to Norwich.[110]

Citizen *Dupont* had received a letter from France which he thought could be better considered by the Sub-Committee. Referred accordingly.

Citizen *Jung* presented the Association with a copper plate which had been designed and executed by Citizen Richard Cottam gratuitously.[111]

Citizen *Marx* proposed, Citizen *Cremer* seconded, that the Central Council thank Citizen Cottam for his generous gift. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Eccarius* resumed the adjourned debate on Citizen Weston's propositions, arguing against Citizen Weston's views.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 60 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Fox* slightly differed with Citizen Eccarius as to the continued intellectual progress which Citizen Eccarius asserted had been made by mankind.

Citizen *Carter* altogether ignored the statistics of political economists and preferred to look at and judge man by what we knew of him.

Citizen *Kaub* proposed the adjournment of the debate till the next sitting. Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned to July 11th.

President*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

July 11, 1865

The *President**** in the chair.

Citizen *Fox* in the absence of the General Secretary read the minutes of the previous meeting which were confirmed.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from the Association's correspondent in Lyons***** acknowledging the receipt of 400 cards, desiring further information concerning the *tulle* manufacture and announcing that the strikes in Lyons had terminated unfavourably to the men who had been compelled to succumb for want of the means of subsistence. He hoped their failure would teach them a lesson and show them the necessity for organisation.

On the proposition of Citizen *Jung* the Council then adjourned till July 18th.

President******

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 61 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Odger.—*Ed.*

**** Schettel.—*Ed.*

***** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

July 18, 1865

The *President* in the chair.

Citizen *Fox* in the absence of the General Secretary read the minutes of the former meeting which were confirmed.

Citizen *Dupont* laid before the Council a letter from Citizen Fribourg in relation to the Congress.[112]

On the proposition of Citizens *Eccarius* and *Dell* it was resolved that the consideration of that matter be deferred till the next sitting when the report of the Sub-Committee was expected and that the Secretary be instructed to summon a general meeting.

The *President* spoke on the subject of reporting the debate on the Weston propositions. He believed that the *Miner* would open its columns to a full report of the same, the debate being now over.[113]

Citizen *Fox* delivered his views on the questions raised by Citizen Weston, after which the Council adjourned to July 25th.

President**

*SUMMONED MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL****

July 25, 1865

The *President***** in the chair.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 61 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 62-65 of the Minute Book. The whole of the first part up to the declaration about the postponement of the Congress has been recopied on a separate sheet of paper and pasted over the old text on p. 62.—*Ed.*

**** Odger.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Fox* who during the temporary absence of the General Secretary had been acting in his stead, stated that he had not been able to write out from his notes the minutes of the last sitting. It was therefore agreed to read them at the next sitting.

Citizen Fox brought up the report of the Sub-Committee.[114] The report with some additions and slight alterations was adopted in the following form:

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE QUESTIONS OF A CONGRESS AND CONFERENCE AS AMENDED AND PASSED BY THE CENTRAL COUNCIL AT A SUMMONED MEETING ON THE 25th OF JULY, 1865

In consequence of the urgent representations of our French and Swiss correspondents who call upon the Central Council to take some steps in fulfilment of the pledge given at the time of the foundation of the Association that a congress would be held in Brussels in the present year to discuss questions of general interest to the proletarians of Europe, your Committee have taken the whole subject into their consideration and submit to you the following series of proposals:

1. That it is not possible to assemble a congress in Brussels or London at the present time. In lieu thereof we propose a conference which shall assemble in London on Monday, September 25th.

2. That the following declaration be published in the Continental and British journals which are favourable to our cause:*

"The Central Council of the International Working Men's Association announce that they have resolved on postponing the convocation of a general congress of working men at Brussels or elsewhere for three reasons:

* The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

"1st. Because they have felt the advisability of having a preliminary conference with a few delegates from their principal branches on the Continent touching [on] the programme which ought to be laid before the said congress.

"2nd. Because in Britain the reform movement, the general elections and the industrial exhibition and in France the strikes have absorbed the energies and attention of the working classes to such an extent as to have retarded the maturity of the Association.

"3rd. Because during the present year the Belgian Parliament has passed an alien act of such a character as to put an end to the project the Association had entertained of holding a congress, or to any they might have entertained of having a conference in the capital of Belgium."

3. The conference is to be constituted in this wise: two delegates from every central administration are to be invited, also two from Lyons. The cost of the travelling expenses of the delegates will be borne by their constituents. Their costs in London will be defrayed by the Central Council.

4. As to the ways and means of defraying these costs, the Committee have received the generous offer from Citizen Jung that he will board and lodge the delegates from Switzerland. For the rest the Committee recommend:

1st. That the members of the Central Council renew their annual subscriptions in the month of September previous to the assembling of the conference.

2nd. That the General Secretary be instructed to appeal to the secretaries of the societies who have already joined the Association to exert themselves to sell cards of membership to their individual members for the sake of meeting the outlay of the conference.

3rd. That the members of the Central Council be recommended to take cards on sale, paying to the Council the

amount of the same in ready money recouping the immediate outlay from the produce of the sales.

5. The Committee propose that the Central Council should adopt and submit to the conference a certain programme[115] which was amended and passed in the following form by the Central Council:*

1) Questions relating to the Congress.

2) Questions relating to the organisation of the Association.

3) Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between capital and labour.

4) Trades' unions, their past, present, and future.

5) Co-operative labour.

6) Direct and indirect taxation.

7) Reduction of the number of the hours of labour.

8) Female and children labour.

9) The Muscovite invasion of Europe and the re-establishment of an independent and integral Poland.

10) Standing armies, their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.**

6. Preliminary sittings of the delegates to be held with the Committee, the definitive sittings with the Central Council.

7. On the 28th of September a soirée will be held for the three following objects: 1st, to commemorate the founding of the Association; 2nd, to do honour to the Continental delegates; and 3rd, to celebrate the triumph of federalism and free labour in America.

The soirée to consist of a tea, speaking, conversation, and dancing.

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* Here the approved text of the programme, recopied in Cremer's hand, is pasted over the original minutes on p. 64 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

In reference to the question of the Muscovite invasion of Europe Citizens *Whitlock* and *Merriman* argued in favour of placing it at the bottom of the programme. It being a political question, they would prefer to keep it apart from the others which were of a social character. Agreed to.

Citizens *Weston* and *Leno* proposed that the question of taxation be struck out not because they did not conceive it to be important but because they thought the programme sufficiently extensive without it. They would prefer to debate one or two questions thoroughly rather than half consider a large number.

Three only voting for the amendment, it was declared lost and the question of taxation remained part of the programme.

As an addition to the question of [the] Muscovite invasion Citizens *Merriman* and *Whitlock* proposed the following:

The relation of the papacy to the political welfare of Italy and the civilisation of the world. For the addition—8, against—12; lost.*

Proposed by Citizens *Lubez* and *Holtorp*:

That the question of education as embodied in the French programme[116] be embodied in the programme of the Central Council. For—6, against—11 (lost), the majority voting against the question because the programme was already sufficiently extended.

Citizens *Cremer* and *Eccarius* proposed that the question of standing armies as suggested in the French programme be embodied in ours. For—12, against—5. (Carried.)

Citizens *Leno* and *Jung* proposed that the question. . . .**

Citizens *Cremer* and *Eccarius* proposed that at the soirée on the 28th of September next:

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* Here several lines are pasted over with a new text.—*Ed.*

** The insert ends here, in the middle of the sentence.—*Ed.*

That in addition to celebrating the foundation of the Association and welcoming the Continental delegates that we celebrate the triumph of the federal cause and congratulate the American people on the abolition of slavery. Carried, one voting against.

The programme as amended and altered and in the form as read above was then put from the chair and carried.

The *General Secretary* stated that having been recently in Norwich, he had made all possible enquiries as to the locality where tulle was manufactured but could not get any information on the subject, but of this he was certain it was not manufactured in Norwich.

The Council then adjourned to August 1st.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

August 1, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous two meetings were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Gray* on behalf of Citizen Walton presented the Council with 20 copies of his book on the subject of landed tenures.[117]

Citizens *Fox* and *Lubez* proposed that the thanks of the Central Council be presented to Citizen Walton for his gift. Carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* gave report of Standing Committee. They propose to the Central Council to insert in the programme to be laid before the conference the following question: Trades' unions, their past, present and future. Agreed to.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 66 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The question of members' cards was then discussed.

The Committee, believing the numbers on the cards were useless and injurious, recommended the Central Council to strike them off. The General Secretary further urged that the names on the cards be also abolished.

A long discussion took place on the question, which was terminated by the following propositions by Citizens *Dell* and *Cremer* proposing to strike off both names and numbers.

Citizens *Jung* and *Dupont* proposed as an amendment to only strike off the numbers.

Citizens *Lubez* and *Longmaid* proposed that the question be adjourned till the next sitting.

The latter proposition being carried, the question was adjourned till the next sitting.

The following citizens were then elected to act with the General Secretary to carry out the arrangements for the soirée: Citizens Dell, Leno, and Howell.

Citizen *Dupont* read correspondence from Paris which stated that through their not having complied with the law regarding the press, that the *Tribune Ouvrière* had been suppressed and the editor fined 100 francs, but they were about to issue another journal.[118]

The Council then adjourned till August 8th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

August 8, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The *Secretary*** read the minutes of the previous meeting which were confirmed.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 67-68 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Cremer.—*Ed.*

The *General Secretary* brought up the report of the Standing Committee. They recommended:

1st, that Citizen Dell be elected financial secretary in the place of Citizen Whitlock. Agreed to.

2nd, they recommended that the question as to the names and numbers on the cards be deferred till the conference so that the opinions of the Continental delegates may be canvassed. Agreed to.

3rd, they recommended that a committee of 3 be appointed to draw up articles of an association for the purpose of raising a capital of £500 in shares of £1 each so as to enable the Central Council to purchase premises as a central home for the Association.[119]

Citizens Dell and Wheeler were elected by the Council and instructed to ascertain whether the company could best be formed under the Industrial Provident Societies' Act or under the Limited Liability Act. The report to be given at the next sitting.

Citizen *Fox* read some correspondence from Neufchâteau from Lefebvre, the correspondent of the Association, stating he had been a little too hasty in the opinions he had formed with regard to the illegality of the Association in France. He was glad to find he had been mistaken and he was now doing all he could to push the Association forward. Citizen Fox also read a letter from Citizen Talbot of Caen who also stated he was using his utmost exertions on behalf of the Association.[120]

Citizen *Fox* introduced the question of the necessity for an active propagandism which brought about a long discussion taken part in by Citizens *Jung, Cremer, Lubez, Odger, Eccarius* and *Wheeler*, the latter stating he had just returned from Scotland where he had done what he could for the advancement of the Association and he had succeeded in obtaining the services of Citizen John McColman as the Association's correspondent for Glasgow.

At the conclusion of the question Citizens *Wheeler* and *Dell* proposed that Citizen John McColman be elected the Glasgow correspondent for the Association. Carried unanimously.

Cremer and *Howell* proposed that Citizens Gardner and Cope be nominated as members of the Central Council.

Citizen *Lubez* asked if the Central Council were willing to take any part in a demonstration on Blackheath to celebrate the jubilee of peace between England and France.

Citizens *Cremer* and *Wheeler* proposed that a demonstration take place on Blackheath, on Sunday 27th August, under the auspices of the Association and that 5,000 handbills be printed and circulated announcing the meeting. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Weston* asked if the debate on the wages question was to be continued or not. He thought it a waste of time for the Central Council to be transacting administrative business when they ought to be engaged in the more serious one of discussing great principles.

Citizen *Howell** seconded that the Standing Committee transact all the administrative business and report to the Central Council once a month, the other three sittings of the Central Council to be devoted to the discussion of great principles. Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned till August 15th.

J. G. ECCARIUS, Vice-President

* A gap in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

INTERNATIONAL

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION,

CENTRAL COUNCIL, 18, GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

On the 25th of September and three following days,

A CONFERENCE

of Delegates from the principal branches of the Association in FRANCE, GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, and BELGIUM, will be held with the CENTRAL COUNCIL, when the following programme will be discussed:—

1.—Questions relating to the Congress.*
2.—Questions relating to the organization of the Association.
3.—Communication of views by persons of the Association in the different national Struggles between Capital and Labour.
4.—Trades Unions—their past, present, and future.
5.—Co-operative labour.
6.—Direct and indirect taxation.
7.—Reduction of the number of the hours of labour.
8.—Female and children's labour.
9.—The Movement-organs of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and understood Publicity.
10.—Standing Armies: their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.

* It is contemplated (next Year) calling a General Congress of Representatives from the various Working Men's Associations in Europe and America.

The Conference will *assemble each Evening at 8 o'Clock at 18, Greek Street: Trade, Friendly or any Working Men's Associations, are invited to send Delegates,*

And on the 28th of September,

A SOIREE

WILL be held in

ST. MARTIN'S HALL,

LONG ACRE,

To Celebrate the FOUNDATION of the ASSOCIATION to Welcome the CONTINENTAL DELEGATES and to express an address of CONGRATULATION to the PEOPLE of AMERICA on their ABOLITION of SLAVERY, and the TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLIC

The Entertainment will consist of Tea, Choruses by the German Working Men's Choral Society. Operatic and other selections by the Band of the Italian Working Men's Association, Dancing, etc.

During the Evening short addresses will be delivered by the continental Delegates.

Tickets to admit at half-past 7, including Tea, Concert, Addresses and Dancing, One Shilling.

Tickets to admit after Tea at half-past 8, to Concert, Addresses and Dancing, Six-pence.

DANCING AT HALF-PAST TEN.

Tickets can be had every Tuesday Evening at the Central Council Meetings 18, Greek Street from Eight o'clock till Ten. Members can also receive Cards by Subscription whereupon the Association will be gladly afforded. Upon finishing per your remembrance any person a Member of the Association.

Tickets can also be had of the following Members of the Central Council—

Mr. LONGHAIR, 34, Wilson Street, E.C.
" WHEELER, 15, Bedford Terrace, Strand, W.C.
" LEWO, 56, Drury Lane, W.C.
" BOCARIUS, 1, Portland Place, Wormwood Road, Walworth.
" LUCRAFT, 3, Westbourne Street, Hyde, N.
" WESTON, 89, Wilkinson Street, E.C.
" SHEARMAN, 92, Goswell St., Finsbury Sq. Town
" HERMAN, 21, Pulteney St., Shoreditch, N.
" TURFF, 19, Hope St., York Rd., Wandsworth
" HUGHES, 34, Gt. Suffolk St., Borough
" APPLEGARTH, 6, Northumberland Street, Strand
" HARRISON, 11, Berkley St., Lambeth Walk
Mr. COULSON, 23, Kendall Street, Blackfriars Rd.
" MILANS, 84, Kensington Place, Notting Hill
" GRAW, 18, Richmond Street, Hyde Park, W.
" BRADLEE, 69, Wharf Street, Pitfrey Sqr., W.
" HOWELL, 6, Maple Terrace, Euston Rd., W.C.
" STAINER, 3, Burgess Street, South Lambeth
" ITTEL, 4, Charles Street, Hatton Garden
" PFANDER, 111, Bolton St., Camden Town
" LESSNER, 4, Howell's Street, Tottenham Ct. Rd.
" LUPTON, 31, Cranbourne St., Leicester Square
" LOCHNER, 18, Great Street, City Road
" KAUB, 8, Portsmouth Road, S.
" MOLLITER, 2, Newman Street, Soho, W.
" MARXEN, 50, Berwick Street, Soho, W.
Mr. G. ODGER, 1, Sussex St., Tottenham Ct. Rd.
" LESSARTE, 14, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square.
" DUCE, 1, Bedford St. Brunswick Sq. Walworth S.
" LUBLE, 4, New Cross Road, New Cross.
" TAYLOR, 17, Queen Street, Commercial Road, East.
" POLSKY, 38, Nicholas St. Pimlico
" MANTZ, 40, New College Buildings, Somers Road, Southwark
" LARDUE, 4, Old Compton Street, Soho.
NEW YORK HOTEL, Leicester St., Leicester Square.
Mr. HARRY, 7 Robert's Place, First Street Chelsea; and of the Honorary General Secretary
W. R. CREMER, 47, Great Braddell Street, W.

Printed by the Westminster Printing Company 16 and 17, Drury Lane.

Leaflet with the programme of the London Conference of the International Working Men's Association held in 1865

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

August 15, 1865

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizens *Cremer* and *Wheeler* proposed that Citizens Cope and Gardner be elected on the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Odger* nominated Citizen Brien as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Kaub* then read his paper in reply to Citizen Weston's propositions. Citizen Kaub taking the opposite view to Citizen Weston, it was then agreed on the proposition of Citizen *Cremer* for Citizen Jung to adjourn any further discussion on the question till the next meeting.

The Council then adjourned on the ....**

Vice-President***

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL*****

*August 21, 1865******

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Kaub* nominated Citizen Hraybe as a member of the Central Council.

The *Secretary* introduced to the notice of the Central

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 68 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Date not indicated.—*Ed.*

*** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

**** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 69 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

***** An error. The meeting took place on Tuesday, August 22.—*Ed.*

Council the necessity for reconstituting the Standing Committee as there were members now on it who never attended its sittings.

It was agreed to adjourn the question till the next meeting of the Central Council.

Citizen *Jung* read correspondence from Switzerland which stated they were making rapid progress with the Association; several working men's societies had lately joined.[121] He also translated for Citizen *Dupont* letters he had received from Lyons and other parts of France, all speaking hopefully of the progress they were making. The members in Lyons again asked for the information they had before sought in reference to the prices and manufacture of tulle.[122]

It was agreed to make another effort to get the information desired.[123] The correspondence was received.

Citizen *Jung*, who was entitled to open the adjourned debate on Citizen Weston's question, asked for permission to postpone doing so till the next sitting.

Citizen *Leno* supported doing so. Agreed to.

The Council then adjourned as there was important business to transact connected with the formation of a newspaper company.[124]

G. ODGER, President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

*August 28, 1865***

The *President* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 69-70 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Possibly an error. The meeting was to be held on Tuesday, August 29, 1865.—*Ed.*

Letter read from Citizen Richard Cottam acknowledging the thanks of the Central Council and expressing his willingness to at any time assist in the progress of the Association.

A letter was also read from Citizen A. Walton, a member of the Association living in Wales. The letter stated that he had the previous week sent a letter to the *Bee-Hive* headed "The Great Naval Review at Cherbourg", but the editor of that paper* had inserted the letter as a leading article and palmed it off on the readers by using the editorial "We" as an editorial production.[125]

A considerable discussion took place on the matter, all who took part in it denouncing such conduct and the following resolution by Citizens *Eccarius* and *Marx* was unanimously agreed to:

That a copy of Citizen Walton's letter to this Council be sent to the editor of the *Bee-Hive* and an explanation be demanded regarding the appropriation of an article sent by Citizen Walton to the *Bee-Hive* on foreign and international politics.

Citizens Howell, Cremer and Eccarius were appointed to prepare an answer to Citizen Walton.**

A letter was read by Citizen *Jung* from Citizen Léon Fontaine.[126] The letter was referred to Citizen Dupont.

The next question was the proposed election of Citizen Brien on the Central Council.

Citizen *Shaw* opposed his election as he had never worked in harmony with any body of men with which he had been connected. Also for his vacillating and coquetting conduct during the late advocacy of the advance-of-wages movement and for his want of honest conduct in conducting the same.

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* Potter.—*Ed.*

** This sentence is given as a footnote at the end of the minutes.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Howell* thought from his conduct he ought not to be elected.

Citizen *Wheeler* thought if the character given by Citizen Shaw be correct, it would not be worth while to introduce him to the Council as he might introduce discord and thereby weakness.

It was unanimously agreed *not* to elect Citizen Brien.

Citizen Hraybe on the proposition of Citizens *Kaub* and *Lessner* was unanimously elected a member of the Central Council.

Jung and *Bordage* nominated Citizen Lucien Perchèlet on Central Council.

The question of reconstructing the Standing Committee was adjourned.

Citizen *Jung*, having the right to re-open the adjourned debate on Citizen Weston's propositions, asked that the question might again be adjourned as he was not then prepared to open the discussion. Adjourned accordingly.

The Council then adjourned till September 5th.

G. ODGER, President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

September 5, 1865

The *President*** in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* brought up the reply of the Committee to Citizen Walton's communication in reference to the *Bee-Hive.*

Citizens *Wheeler* and *Morgan* proposed the adoption of the report.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 71 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* read two passages from Swiss papers relative to the Association.

Citizen Perchelet on the proposition of Citizens *Jung* and *Bordage* was elected on the Council.

Citizen *Morgan* gave a report of a visit to the Boot-Closers who had requested a deputation to attend at their next summoned meeting.

Citizen Mantz was nominated on the Central Council by Citizens *Wheeler* and *Eccarius*.

Citizens *Duthy* and *Cheval* attended as delegates from Belgium to ask if there was any objection to the Belgians electing their own officers.[127]

Citizen *Carter* proposed, *Eccarius* seconded:

That branches have the power to elect their own officers subject to the approval of the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

The delegates were also requested to attend the Standing Committee at their next sitting. The Council then adjourned till September 12th.

G. ODGER, President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

September 12, 1865

The *President* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

A letter was read from Citizen Wheeler stating his inability to continue as Treasurer to the Association in consequence of his increased duties in connection with his daily duties.

Several members expressed their regret that Citizen Wheeler had resigned but as the announcement of Citizen

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 71-72 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Wheeler was positive, no alternative was left them but to accept his resignation which was accordingly done, after which Citizens *Marx* and *Eccarius* proposed that Citizen Dell be elected treasurer and that for the future the offices of treasurer and financial secretary be rolled into one. Carried unanimously.

Citizen Mantz was elected a member of the Central Council on the motion of Citizens *Dell* and *Cremer*.

Lubez and *Carter* nominated Citizen Pierre Vésinier as a member of the Central Council.

A discussion then took place as to the forthcoming conference taken part in by *Marx*, *Weston*, *Lubez*, *Cremer*, and on the motion of Citizen *Lubez*, seconded by *Mantz*, the further consideration of the question was adjourned till the 19th inst., the meeting to be special for the consideration of the conference.

The Council then adjourned till the 19th.

WILLIAM DELL, President *pro tem.*

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

September 19, 1865

In the absence of the President,** Citizen *Dell* was unanimously voted to the chair.

The *Secretary**** read the minutes of the last meeting which were confirmed.

Citizen *Marx* proposed, Citizen *Carter* seconded, that Citizen Bobczynski be elected a member of the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

The *Secretary* read a letter from Glasgow from Citizen McColman accepting the position assigned him by the

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 72-73 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger.—*Ed.*

*** Cremer.—*Ed.*

Central Council, viz., that of corresponding secretary for Glasgow, and promising to do his best to advance the interests of the Association.

Citizen *Marx* announced that no delegates from Germany would attend the conference, but that a report of the doings in Germany would be sent him which he would read to the conference.[128] He had also sent [a letter] to Ernest Jones asking him to be present and speak at the soirée.[129]

Citizen *Jung* read a letter from Switzerland in which it was announced that two delegates had been elected and would attend the conference.[130]

The question of the reorganisation of the Standing Committee was then brought up by the *Secretary* from the Standing Committee who recommended the Central Council to appoint the following members to constitute the Standing Committee: *Odger, Eccarius, Dupont, Marx, Jung, Dell, Howell, Fox, Weston.*[131]

Agreed to, and on the motion of *Cremer*, seconded by *Lessner*, Citizen Bobczynski was also elected a member of the Standing Committee to represent the Polish section of the Association.

It was then agreed that the Continental delegates should go to Citizen Bolleter's and Lardaux's to board and lodge.

Citizen *Dell* offered to provide for the expenses of one of the delegates.

Citizen *Bobczynski* contributed one pound towards the expenses of the delegates.

The question of the expenses of the conference was then discussed.

The Standing Committee recommended that members of the Central Council contribute as far as they can to the expenses of the conference. Agreed to.

Several members of the Central Council contributed towards the expenses.

Mr. Tripp was engaged as M. C. for the soirée.

Citizen *Lubez* proposed, *Carter* seconded, that Citizen Vésinier be elected on the Central Council.

It was then determined that all the tickets for the soirée be returned or paid for on the third Tuesday after the soirée.

The Standing Committee recommended to the Central Council to agree to the following as a recommendation to the conference:

The Central Council shall in 1866 convoke a general congress unless unforeseen circumstances shall necessitate its further postponement. Carried unanimously.

Lubez proposed that each question on the programme be left to some one member to be named by the Central Council.

Carter seconded but ultimately the proposition was withdrawn in favour of the following by Citizen *Carter*, seconded by *Weston*:

That the views expressed here tonight be considered by the Standing Committee.[132]

The Council then adjourned to . . . .*

G. ODGER, President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

October 3, 1865

The *President* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Secretary* read a letter from Citizen Jung stating his inability to attend the Council meeting as he had an attack of ophthalmia.

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* Date not indicated.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 73-74 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Council expressed a hope that he soon be with them again.

Letter read purporting to be a letter from the editor of the *Bee-Hive* but as no name was attached to it, the Council passed to the next business.

A letter was also read from Madame Jeanne Deroin. The letter had been addressed to the conference but had been delayed.

The *Secretary* stated he had received applications for the Address and Rules from the Hearth Rug Weavers' and Gilders' Societies.

Morgan gave report of visit to Boot-Closers. It was very late before the deputation were admitted but the members of the society apologised for having kept the deputation waiting and he had no doubt but that at their next monthly meeting the society would join the Association.

The question as to the publication of the doings at the conference was then discussed.

Citizen *Carter* and *Lubez* proposed that Citizen Marx be requested to compile the report of the conference proceedings.[133] Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Carter* and *Lubez* proposed that a copy be sent to Citizen De Paepe in Belgium and that he be requested to publish it in pamphlet form. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Dupont* reported that a friend of his, Citizen Coraz, was about to start for New York and he suggested that Citizen Coraz should [take with him] (as he was willing to do) 500 cards of membership and [copies of the] Address. Citizen Dupont also gave notice of his intention to propose Citizen Coraz as the correspondent of the Association in New York.

A discussion took place as to the late soirée, the numbers attending it and the tickets taken at the doors. An explanation having been given, the subject [was] dropped.

Several friends came and took their cards of membership.

Citizen *Bordage* nominated Citizen H. Johnson as a member of the Central Council.

The meeting then adjourned till October 10th.

JOHN WESTON, Chairman *pro tem.*

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

October 10, 1865

Citizen *Weston* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen Johnson on the propositions of Citizens *Bordage* and *Dell* was elected a member of the Central Council. Citizen Louis Oborski proposed by *Bobczynski* and *Marx.*

Citizen *Bobczynski* said that as the Polish Association was at present constituted they could not well join the International Working Men's Association but they wished to take part in it and to send representatives to the Central Council. He also stated that they expected to be able to effect the opening of branches in Belgium, France and Italy. He had been deputed to ask if the Association would co-operate with the Polish Association to celebrate the revolution of 29th November.

The question was adjourned till the next sitting.

The position of Citizen Lewis, the nominal corresponding secretary for America, and his relation to the Central Council was then discussed and the Secretary was ordered to write to him informing him that if he did not attend to the duties of his office that his election would be after the present month considered void.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 74-75 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Cremer* called attention to the Council meetings and gave notice of a proposition at the next Council meeting to adjourn the sittings for a month. He thought we had too many movements in hand to work any of them effectively unless we met less frequently. He thought all our energies ought to be directed to establish the *Workman's Advocate*, for without an organ the Association could never make any great headway. He would therefore suggest that for the next two or three months the main energies of the Council should be directed to the thorough establishment of the paper.

A discussion took place in reference to the Polish corresponding secretary.

The *General Secretary* said he did not know that Citizen Holtorp had ever done anything as a secretary. He thought his position as Polish secretaryship existed only in name.

Several members of the Council expressed similar views, after which the Council adjourned till October 17th.

J. CARTER, President *pro tem.*

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

October 17, 1865

The President and Vice-President** being absent, Citizen *Carter* was voted to the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Holtorp* in reference to some remarks contained in the minutes of the last meeting, explained that his reasons for not having brought any correspondence to the Central Council was that it had chiefly been of a private character, but if the Central Council thought he had

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 76-77 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Odger and Eccarius.—*Ed.*

neglected his duty he was quite willing to resign and to propose Citizen Bobczynski in his stead who had large connections in Galicia.

Citizen *Bobczynski* thought it would be better to allow the Poles to elect their secretary.

Citizen *Lubez* thought Citizen Holtorp had mistaken the views of the Council with reference to his having neglected his duties.

The subject [was] then dropped with the understanding that the Polish Association should recommend to the Central Council one of their members as secretary.

Citizen Col. Oborski was elected a member of the Central Council on the proposition of Citizens *Bobczynski* and *Marx*.

The following were nominated as members of the Central Council by Citizen *Bobczynski*: Citizen Zabicki, Citizen Werecki, Citizen Krynski.

Citizen *Lessner* notified to the Council the resignation of Citizen Bolleter as a member of the Council.

Citizen *Bobczynski* stated that the Polish Association had decided to celebrate the Revolution of November 29 and a deputation of Poles was present to ask if the International Working Men's Association would assist in the celebration.

Citizen *Lubez* feared it might detract from our prestige if we were so often engaging in demonstrations with regard to Poland.

Citizen *Fox* thought we ought to celebrate the insurrection every year. He differed from Lubez. He thought the taking up [of] the Polish cause had already done the Association good: it had brought us a number of Poles.

After a lengthy discussion the following resolution was adopted, proposed by Citizens *Dell* and *Lessner*:

That a deputation be appointed to wait on the Polish League[134] to ascertain if they are prepared to co-operate

with us in the demonstration on behalf of the Polish Revolution of November 29th.

Citizens Dell, Odger and Eccarius were appointed as the deputation.

Citizens *Fox* and *Marx* proposed that if the celebration be determined on, that the Standing Committee shall transact all the business in connection therewith. Carried unanimously.

The *General Secretary* called attention to the fact that some weeks ago he had announced his intention of resigning. He could no longer with justice to himself perform the duties. He would thank the Council to name his successor. He had asked Citizen Lubez to accept the office.

Citizen *Lubez* was sorry to be compelled to refuse.

Other members of the Council were appealed to but all declined; but some of them asked Citizen Cremer if he could not longer continue the office.

Citizen *Cremer* replied that to him it was a question of necessity: he had sacrificed so much during the past twelve months that it was for him impossible to sacrifice any more. But he would consent to hold the office till the present pecuniary liabilities were discharged.

It was then agreed by resolution to adjourn for a fortnight.

The Council then adjourned to October 31st.

WILLIAM DELL, President

*Tuesday, October 31**

Citizen *Dell* was voted into the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

* No heading. The minutes are in a schoolboy hand on pp. 77-78 of the Minute Book. For lack of space the latter part of the minutes is written between the minutes of January 2 and 9, 1866, on pp. 98-99 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

CELEBRATION OF NOVEMBER 29

Citizen *Dell* gave a report of the meeting of the deputation to Mr. Edmond Beales. Mr. Beales thought all public demonstrations, at the present time, inopportune, but the British League for the Independence of Poland would nevertheless co-operate with the International in celebrating the insurrection of January 23, but the League would not take part in any celebration of the insurrection of 1830.

Citizen *Fox* asked to repeat what he had said at the previous meeting, that the insurrection of November 29th was made by the Poles in favour of Europe contrary to their own former plan which led them to wait for the revolution in Germany reaching them and enabling them to fight out their own independence. But when the czar wanted to invade Western Europe, the Poles being intended to act as a vanguard against France and Belgium, they turned round on Russia before their own time and acted as a shield to the former.

Le Lubez repeated a few of the things which he said at the last meeting. He thought that this Association ought to occupy itself with resolving social problems and the extinction of pauperism.

Citizen *Carter* said that the question was a simple one: would we help the Poles to celebrate the anniversary of the most unselfish, the most republican movement that ever took place in Poland.

On the motion of Citizen *Fox*, it was resolved: "That the question of the celebration of November 29 stand over until we hear the wishes of our Polish members."

COURRIER INTERNATIONAL

Citizen *Fox* read an article from the *International Courier* (French side) criticising the doings of the conference and declaring that every political association of

working men was, under present circumstances, a *conspiracy*.[135]

The sense of the article and the spirit in which it was written were thought by the meeting to be highly inimical to the Association.*

On the motion of Citizen *Cremer*, it was resolved to insert an advertisement of the International Association in the *Workman's Advocate* on the terms of paying the price of setting.

On the motion of the same, it was resolved that the members of the Council should be written to and informed that henceforth they would only receive notice of the sittings of the Central Council through the *Workman's Advocate*.[136]

Citizen *Morgan* stated that the deputation to the Boot-Closers did not attend as they were detained till late at another meeting in Chelsea.

Citizens Werecki and Krynski were unanimously elected members of the Central Council.

Citizen Zabicki was objected by Citizen *Le Lubez*, and the question of this election was accordingly adjourned.

The *Secretary* then made a financial statement. He stated that the Association was £12 in debt; that M. Dujonquoy of the New York Hotel was the principal creditor to the extent of £8.11s.8d., that he was pressing for payment; that the Association was also indebted to Citizen Jung and to a printer named Kelly and to Citizen Kaub. *Per contra* that many outstanding accounts were due to the Association for tickets sold at our two soirées. Citizen Cremer also thought that money ought to be forthcoming from France, as the Central Council had sent over there

* Here the following is noted in the Minute Book: "For conclusion see pages between the minutes of January 2 and January 9, 1866."—*Ed.*

so many cards and [copies of the] Address and received back only £4.

The meeting then adjourned to that day fortnight.*

*Tuesday, November 14***

The Central Council met at 18, Greek Street, Soho. Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

MINUTES

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

AUDIT

On the motion of Citizen *Fox*, Citizens Coulson and Lessner were appointed to audit the accounts of the St. Martin's Hall soirée.

FRANCE AND SPAIN

The *Secretary for France**** stated that the report of the proceedings of the conference drawn up by the Parisian delegates had been inserted in all the Republican and Liberal journals of Paris[137]; and that in the *Siècle* M. Henri Martin had written a preface (see below) which he desired to read, and did read to the Council. M. Martin had joined our Association, and a sudden demand had sprung up for cards, 1,000 of which the Paris delegates demanded the immediate transmission. He also stated that the Parisian

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** No heading. The minutes, written in Fox's hand on two leaves of paper, are pasted onto pp. 79-80 of the Minute Book. The first part is a clipping from *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 141, November 18, 1865, with additions and amendments in handwriting.—*Ed.*

*** Dupont.—*Ed.*

centre was in correspondence with Spanish democrats, concerning which they would communicate at length to the Council at a future date.

He concluded by laying the aforesaid report on the table.

POLISH CELEBRATION

Citizen *Bobczynski* stated as the British League for the Independence of Poland would join the International in celebrating the anniversary of the late insurrection of January 23rd, 1863, but would not join to celebrate that of November 29th, 1830, the Polish members had abandoned the idea of asking the International to observe the 29th instant. Nevertheless, the Poles in London intended to celebrate the same among themselves in a quiet manner, and they would be pleased to have the company of their friends. When the arrangements were completed, notice would be given of time, place, etc., in the columns of the *Workman's Advocate.** [138]

PLACE OF MEETING

The lessee of the premises demands £12 per ann. for the front and £10 per ann. for the back room, a month's rent in advance and a monthly notice on either side.

As the Council desired** to have as large an attendance of members to consider this question of location as possible, they resolved to let the matter stand over till next Tuesday.***

This question was accordingly made the order of the day for the next meeting.

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* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping of several lines from the same number of *The Workman's Advocate,* heavily edited by hand, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The newspaper clipping ends here. The sentence "they resolved ... next Tuesday" is crossed out in the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

A conversation ensued about the expediency of resuming our weekly meetings, and a resolution to do so was carried *nem. con.*

The Council then adjourned till Tuesday next.

The following document was ordered to be inserted in the minutes:

HENRI MARTIN'S PREFACE TO THE FRENCH DELEGATES' REPORT*

We have read the narrative of what lately took place at London with profound emotion. We have a presentiment that something great has just been begun, and that St. Martin's Hall will be famous in history.

The elevation of the sentiments and the language of this report, the breadth of view and the high moral, political, and economical conceptions which have decided the choice of questions composing the programme for the International Congress of Working Men, which is to assemble next year, will strike with a common sympathy every friend of progress, justice and liberty in Europe.

Leaving to our friends and coadjutors the task of studying it in its details, and of following in its course, this new-born effort of European fraternity, we will only draw attention from among such profound social questions as "The labour of women and children in factories from the moral and sanitary point of view", "The reduction of the hours of labour; object and moral consequences of the same", "Religious ideas, their influence on the social, political, and intellectual movement", we will only, I say, draw attention to the ninth question laid down for the consideration of the future congress:

"*The necessity of annihilating Muscovite influence in Europe*, by the application of the principle of the right of nations to dispose of themselves, and the reconstruction of Poland upon a democratic and socialist basis." We will take the liberty of remarking that the expression "democratic and socialist basis", is a very simple one as regards Poland, where the *social* framework needs reconstruction quite as much as the political framework, and where this basis has been laid down by the decrees of the anonymous government of 1863, and accepted by all classes of the nation.

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* Here a clipping from *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 141, November 18, 1865, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

This then is the reply of true socialism, of social progress in harmony with justice and liberty, to the advances of the communist despotism of Muscovy.

This "secret of the people of Paris", which our friend Corbon has revealed in his noble book, is becoming, then, the common secret of the peoples of Europe.

We were well persuaded that this cold, as of death, which is spread over the surface of our modern society, had not reached to the bottom, had not frozen the soul of the people, and that the springs of life were not exhausted.

It was in England that the rich and powerful gave but yesterday the most melancholy examples of international egotism and of indifference to the lofty duties, to the grand interests of European society.

It is, indeed, in Britain that, for the honour of the British people, these noble reprisals of young Europe ought to commence; it is thither these clasped hands must go and plant the flag of the fraternity of peoples.

"Let those who have faith march forward, and soon the sceptics will run *after them.*" (Quoted from the concluding sentence of the delegates' report.)

Our ears had grown unused to such words; they thrill us to the depths of our heart.

*Henri Martin**

*MINUTES***

Tuesday, November 21

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

A letter dated November 7 was read from the Secretary of the Council of the Cordwainers' Association asking for some [copies of the] Rules and Address to be forwarded to branch societies at Birmingham.

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* The newspaper clipping ends here. The minutes are unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes, written in Fox's hand on five leaves of paper, are pasted onto pp. 81-85 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

It was ordered that Citizen Fox should forward 24 copies to Thos. Hallam of No. 3, Second Court, Latimer St., Birmingham, for distribution among the four branch societies in that town; also that this remittance should be accompanied by a letter explaining the cause of the delay which had arisen in responding to the appeal.

The *Secretary for Germany** stated that, in view of the sudden demand for cards that had arisen at Paris, he and the Secretary for Switzerland** had guaranteed the printer for the cost of preparing 2,000 cards, of which number 1,000 should be sent to Paris, 500 reserved for the French province and 100 reserved for Germany. He desired the sanction of the Council to this arrangement.

It was moved by Citizen *Morgan* and seconded by *Wheeler* and carried *nem. con.*: "That we sanction the arrangement made by Citizens Marx and Jung with the printer of the cards and that the allotment of them be as proposed by Citizen Marx."

GENERAL REPORT

Citizen *Marx* stated that on his proposition it had been resolved at the conference that a report should be drawn up of the transactions of the Association for the first year of its existence. He now advised that the resolution for preparing such report be rescinded on two grounds: (1) because the French delegates had already published a report, (2) that its publication at the present moment was not opportune and should be delayed until May.[139] He had, however, communicated copies of the resolution and programme to our correspondents in Belgium and to Citizen Jung.

The resolution for drawing up a report was accordingly rescinded.

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* Marx.—*Ed.*
** Jung.—*Ed.*

PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY

The *Secretary for Germany* said he was glad to be able to report that our Association was at length making headway in Germany, where it had obstacles to overcome greater than those which existed in France. Steps were being taken to form branches in Berlin, Mayence and Leipsic by men for whom the speaker could vouch. These societies would probably be represented at the Geneva Congress.[140]

NEW CORRESPONDENTS

Citizen *Marx* proposed that Dr. Coullery of [La] Chaux-de-Fonds in the Canton of Neuchâtel be nominated correspondent of this Association and receive a letter of credence. This proposition was carried *nem. con.*

The *Secretary for France* proposed that Léon Toutain of Condé-sur-Noireau, in the Department of Calvados, be appointed correspondent. Resolved accordingly.

LETTER FROM LYONS

The *Secretary for France* read a letter from our correspondent at Lyons* stating that he held 200 francs at our disposal and would shortly transmit same, also desiring to know if the report of the Paris delegates was accurate in every respect or "cooked" so as not to offend the government, also thanking the Council for the transmission of the *Courrier International* and desiring the largest possible amount of information concerning the doings of the Central Council.

LOCATION

The Council agreed with Mr. Corbett to take the back room at 18, Greek St., Soho, for Tuesday nights at 4s. a week payable in advance, with a month's notice on either side.

* Schettel.—*Ed.*

CELEBRATION OF THE 29th NOVEMBER

On the motion of Citizens *Fox* and *Wheeler* it was resolved that should the Poles in London carry out their project of celebrating this event by a dinner, those members of the Council who should attend the same be authorised to do so as a deputation from the Central Council.

The Council then adjourned.*

*MINUTES***

Tuesday, November 28

President *Odger* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed without alteration.

THE TREASURERSHIP

Citizen *Dell* stated that he and Citizen Wheeler had spoken together about the treasurership which the latter was willing to resume and the former desirous of resigning in consequence of the distance of his abode from town. He stated that Wheeler's office was in a central place near the Strand and recommended the transference of the office.

It was moved by *Howell* and seconded by *Dell* that Wheeler resume the office of treasurer of the Association. Carried *nem. con.*

SWITZERLAND

In the regretted absence of the Secretary for Switzerland,*** Citizen *Marx* stated that Citizen J. Ph. Becker had

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes, written in Fox's hand on three leaves of paper, are pasted onto pp. 86-88 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Jung.—*Ed.*

issued a proclamation to the German Swiss, concerning the Association, portions of which he thought should be translated and published in our report.[141] In it it was announced that the branch societies in Switzerland were about to issue a paper in German and French which would be the organ of the Association in that country.[142]

THE TULLE QUESTION

The *Secretary for France** stated that it would have a good effect on the Lyonnese if any member of the Council could procure the desired information concerning the wages earned by English operatives in this branch of manufacture.

PREPARATIONS FOR CONGRESS

Citizen *Fox* gave notice that he intended to prepare, for the forthcoming congress, a paper on the 9th question of the programme, relating to Poland, which would address itself to the merits of the question and to the necessity of its retention as one of the aims of the Association. He intended to get it translated into French and hoped to lay it in English before the Central Council by the first Tuesday in April.

The Council then adjourned.**

*December 19, 1865****

Vice-President *Eccarius* took the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* Dupont.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** No heading. The minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 89-91 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

THE MINUTE BOOK

Citizen *Fox* brought before the Council the unregistered state of the records of our three last meetings and begged that the Council would take action therein.

After some conversation Citizen *Dell* moved, *Lessner* seconded, and carried *nem. con.*: "That Citizen Fox address a letter to the late Secretary* requesting him to leave with Mr. Corbett the Minute Book of the meetings of the Central Council."

CHANGE OF LOCATION

President *Odger* stated that a room could be had in Bouverie St. for £10 per annum, that its expenses might be shared with the *Workman's Advocate* Company. A general feeling was expressed that it was highly desirable that the Association should possess a continuously accessible location.

Citizen Dell was appointed to make the necessary arrangements with the Industrial Newspaper Company for taking this room.

SECRETARYSHIP AND THE CARDS

In consequence of the vacancy of the office of general secretary to the Association and the difficulty of getting the cards of membership stamped which had arisen therefrom, it was resolved on the motion of Citizen *Marx* that henceforth the Continental secretaries would stamp their own cards, that the said cards should not be numbered and that the said secretaries should give receipts only for the gross number of the cards they received.

Citizen *Fox* repeated the assurance he had formerly given that it would be impossible for him to accept the office of secretary.

* Cremer.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Dell* then mentioned the name of a friend of his who, he thought, would be willing to undertake the office. It was accordingly agreed to adjourn the question of electing a secretary until Dell had spoken with his friend.

CONTINENTAL CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Marx* stated that societies in Basle and Zurich had joined the Association. Also a benefit and a co-operative society connected with the Association had been formed whose seat was in Geneva.[143]

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from our correspondent at Condé-sur-Noireau of Calvados, dated December 6, complaining that he had not received any cards. Also one from Citizens Limousin and Fribourg giving reasons why they had not sent money to London for the cards and asking that full confidence and entire liberty be accorded to them until the Congress.

THE PROPAGANDA

Citizen *Jung* made an appeal to the British members to be up and doing to collect money for the Congress and declared that the *dolce far niente** of the British members paralysed his efforts among his own countrymen in London and Switzerland.

President *Odger* observed that working men's spare political energies were absorbed in the agitation for manhood suffrage and the ballot.

Citizen *Fox* replied that the reawakening of political life among the London masses was a symptom of favourable augury for the Association. He was ready to address a trades' society once a week for the purpose of collecting money for the Congress.

Citizen *Morgan* recommended that [copies of the] ad-

* Delightful idleness.—*Ed.*

dress[144] should be furnished to the trades' societies before any deputation was heard, in order that those bodies might be forewarned and have the subject in their programme for the evening.

Finally Citizen *Odger* undertook to prepare a list of the societies which it would be most advisable to apply to.

STANDING COMMITTEE

Citizen *Jung* moved that the Standing Committee resume its sittings,* but on the statement of the Chairman that this was a point to be settled by the Standing Committee itself, the mover withdrew his motion.**

*December 26. Boxing night!****

Present: Citizens Shaw, Marx, Jung, Cremer, Fox, Le Lubez and a friend introduced by the last named as a member of the newly formed French branch of the Association.[145]

Citizen *Shaw* was appointed chairman.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed, a slight alteration being made in the last paragraph of the same.

THE NUMBERING OF THE CARDS

Citizen *Cremer* thought that the Council should reconsider their resolution of December 19, in reference to the non-numbering of the cards. He argued that the number

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* Here in the Minute Book the words "but as the motion was not seconded, it fell to the ground", originally written, are struck out. The correction was made following the discussion at the Council's next meeting.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** No heading. The minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 91-94 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

was a protection against fraud. New cards should be issued every year with fresh numbers.

After some discussion *Le Lubez* moved and *Marx* seconded that the cards just obtained from the printer be numbered by the numerical printing machine.

Citizen Cremer having undertaken to look after that matter on the following day, the motion was carried unanimously.

STAMPING OF CARDS

Cremer thought the stamp should be fixed at the new room in Bouverie St. where any correspondent could use it. That was a better arrangement than having it in anybody's private dwelling. He made a motion that it be fixed in Bouverie St. Seconded by *Jung* and carried unanimously.

ROOM IN BOUVERIE STREET

Cremer reported that the Industrial Newspaper Company had taken a room in Bouverie St. at the rent of £10 per annum and was willing to admit the Association as a co-tenant or sub-tenant at the rent of £5 per annum. Cremer proposed that we close with this offer.

This proposition was carried unanimously.

AUDIT OF ACCOUNTS

Cremer introduced the subject of the audit of our accounts. He recommended that the next audit include down to the 1st of January 1866.

A motion to this effect was made and carried.

RAISING OF FUNDS FOR THE CONGRESS

Fox thought that the remarks of the Secretary for Switzerland* at our last meeting ought to be heeded. He had accordingly drawn up an appeal to the working men of

* Jung.—*Ed.*

Great Britain* which he proposed to issue in the name of the British members of the Central Council and which should be printed and sent round to the trades' societies before receiving a deputation from the Council. He then read the address.

Cremer then delivered his opinions on the mode of raising the funds required and on the address. He pledged himself to exert his influence to raise them. The address should be printed in circular form and sent to the trades' societies in sufficient numbers to allow of their being delivered to every individual member. An address merely sent to the chairman would not reach or act upon the members. Also subscription-lists should be printed with a notification that the receipts would be acknowledged in the *Workman's Advocate*.

The address of Fox was referred to the Standing Committee which appointed Sunday at 2.30 p.m. in Cleveland Hall coffee-room to assemble.

JOURNAL DE VERVIERS

Citizen *Le Lubez* laid on the table the first of a projected series of attacks on the policy of the Central Council published in the *Journal de Verviers* (Belgium).[146]

Citizen *Marx* made some observations in defence of the Council.

ORGAN OF THE ASSOCIATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND

The *Secretary for Switzerland* laid on the table a copy of No. 1 of the *Journal de l'Association internationale des travailleurs pour la Suisse romande*.**

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* See pp. 153-54 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

1866

*(January 2)**

President *Odger* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

STATE PRISONERS IN IRELAND[147]

Fox read from the *Cork Daily Herald* the appeal of Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa and Mrs. Clarke Luby to the women of Ireland for funds for the families of the state prisoners now or lately in Ireland and also evidence from the Dublin *Irishman*[148] that collections were being made for this purpose in the manufacturing towns of the North of England. He remarked on the liberty granted by the British Government to Irishwomen, who were allowed to proclaim themselves Fenians without being prosecuted. He finished by moving that the appeal be sent to the *Workman's Advocate* by the Central Council with a request for its publication.[149]

This motion was seconded by *Weston*, who thought Ireland had been as much oppressed as any of the nations on the Continent with which Englishmen were want to sympathise and, although he was something of a moral force man, yet he was beginning to think that unless moral

* No heading. The minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 94-98 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

force had some physical force in the background, it was "perfect weakness". Motion carried unanimously.

ORGAN FOR FRENCH SWITZERLAND

Fox gave a summary of the contents of the journal of the International Association for Romance Switzerland.[150]

Dell said that it reflected great credit on the working men of Geneva who had put up such a creditable performance in a small town and unaided by the middle class. Such facts were very encouraging.

He moved that "the Central Council, having read the first number of the said journal, express their high approbation of its character and contents and beg to accord to the conductors their best wishes for its permanent success".

The above motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

ECHO DE VERVIERS AND PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

Le Lubez laid upon the table two copies of the *Echo de Verviers*, one of which contained the conclusion of the attack on the Central Council mentioned in the minutes of the last meeting*; the other contained a copy of the proposed constitution of the Association which would be submitted by the First** branch of the Association in London to the Central Council and possibly afterwards*** to the Geneva Congress.[151] Le Lubez observed that he did not represent the First** branch in any official capacity, but he was a member of the same. The branch thought

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* See p. 150 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** An error in the Minute Book. Should read: French.—*Ed.*

*** The words "to the Central Council and possibly afterwards" were put down in the minutes when they were confirmed at the Council's next meeting.—*Ed.*

that anybody who came to the Congress with well-digested ideas and a cut and dried plan would have a great advantage over those who went there in a fog or like the foolish virgins of the parable, without oil in their lamps.

The constitution was then read by *Fox* in English but the translator excused himself from reading the second part of the attack as the first part was not then in the room.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS TO THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY

Fox stated that the Standing Committee had met on Sunday afternoon and had considered his proposed appeal; that Cremer had then stated that he thought he could produce one which if not so well composed would tell better with the working classes and obtain more funds, that he would produce an appeal on Tuesday. Under those circumstances the Committee agreed to report both appeals to the Council, leaving the larger body to select the one best suited to the occasion. The Standing Committee also recommended the two following methods of agitating the working classes for the aforesaid object, viz.:

1. That subscription-sheets should be got up and distributed, in which it would be stated that all monies would be acknowledged in the *Workman's Advocate.*

2. That whichever appeal be accepted it be circulated with the Address and Rules of the Association and in sufficient numbers to reach individual members of the societies. That as there were not sufficient numbers of the Address in print to meet this exigency, it would be necessary to ask the Directors of the *Workman's Advocate* to reprint it in that journal and so bring out a new edition.

Fox and *Cremer* then read their respective appeals.

Jung demanded that the Council should first decide about the reprinting of the Address.

Howell moved and *Jung* seconded that the Directors be requested to reprint the Address of the Association. This motion was carried after discussion, with one dissentient.[152]

A general discussion then ensued on Cremer's and Fox's appeal.

Eventually Cremer's[153] was preferred by a vote of 6 against 5 (one neutral).

It was then unanimously voted that Fox be requested to recast his appeal in the shape of a leader with certain suggested additions for publication in the *Workman's Advocate*.[154]

CHANGE OF LOCATION

Cremer reported that the room in 18, Bouverie St. was ready for the reception of the Council. He moved that we meet there next week.

The Chairman then went down to Mr. Corbett to see if he required a week's notice. On his return he stated that Mr. Corbett did not require any notice.

Cremer's motion was then carried and Fox was directed to call on Mr. Corbett during the ensuing week and bring the account to the next meeting of the Council.*

*January 9, 1866***

President *Odger* in the chair.

Minutes read and, after an alteration demanded by Le Lubez, confirmed.

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* Unsigned. Then comes text under the heading: "Conclusion of Minutes of Central Council on October 31, 1865" (see pp. 137-38 of the present volume).—*Ed.*

** No heading. The minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 99-101 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

PROPOSAL OF MEMBERS

Jung proposed and *Dupont* seconded the preliminary nomination of Citizens Charles Longuet and Crespelle as members of the Central Council.

CORRESPONDENCE

A letter from our correspondent at Condé-sur-Noireau was read complaining that through non-payment of postage his cards were stopped in the English post-office.

BELGIUM

An extract was read from the *Tribune du Peuple* stating that the "Society of the People" and the Brussels section of the International Working Men's Association had amalgamated, so that the *Tribune* had, in fact, become an organ of the Association.[155]

VESINIER'S ATTACK IN THE *ECHO DE VERVIERS*

Marx thought that the constitution published in the *Echo de Verviers* as emanating from the French branch in London ought to have been laid before the Council before publication. He then alluded to the attack which he said was written by Citizen Vésinier.[156]

Jung denounced the attack as an infamous one and exposed some of its misstatements. Such a manifesto ought to have been signed. He moved that Vésinier retract these falsities or be expelled from the Association.

Le Lubez admitted that Vésinier was the author of the attack.

Marx took occasion to defend our Paris correspondents from the aspersions made upon them. They had left with the Council all their accounts and correspondence and had behaved in the most honourable manner.

Dupont thought the Council could not overlook the matter for sake of its own dignity. He seconded Jung's motion.

Bobczynski said the Council must not condemn a man unheard. Let him be invited to explain his attack before proceeding to extremities.

Marx objected to the word "retractation". Vésinier should be called upon to substantiate or to make his exit.

Le Lubez demands that the articles impeached be read in English.

Fox accordingly read both articles in French and English.

Odger stated that they were a tirade of abuse.

Weston was disposed to admit that Vésinier was justified in blaming the remissness of the Central Council in not having discussed a single social question. The Council had had too many irons in the fire. That was its best excuse.

Jung then withdrew his motion and *Marx* moved and *Jung* seconded that Vésinier be called upon to substantiate his accusation or, failing to do so, be expelled.

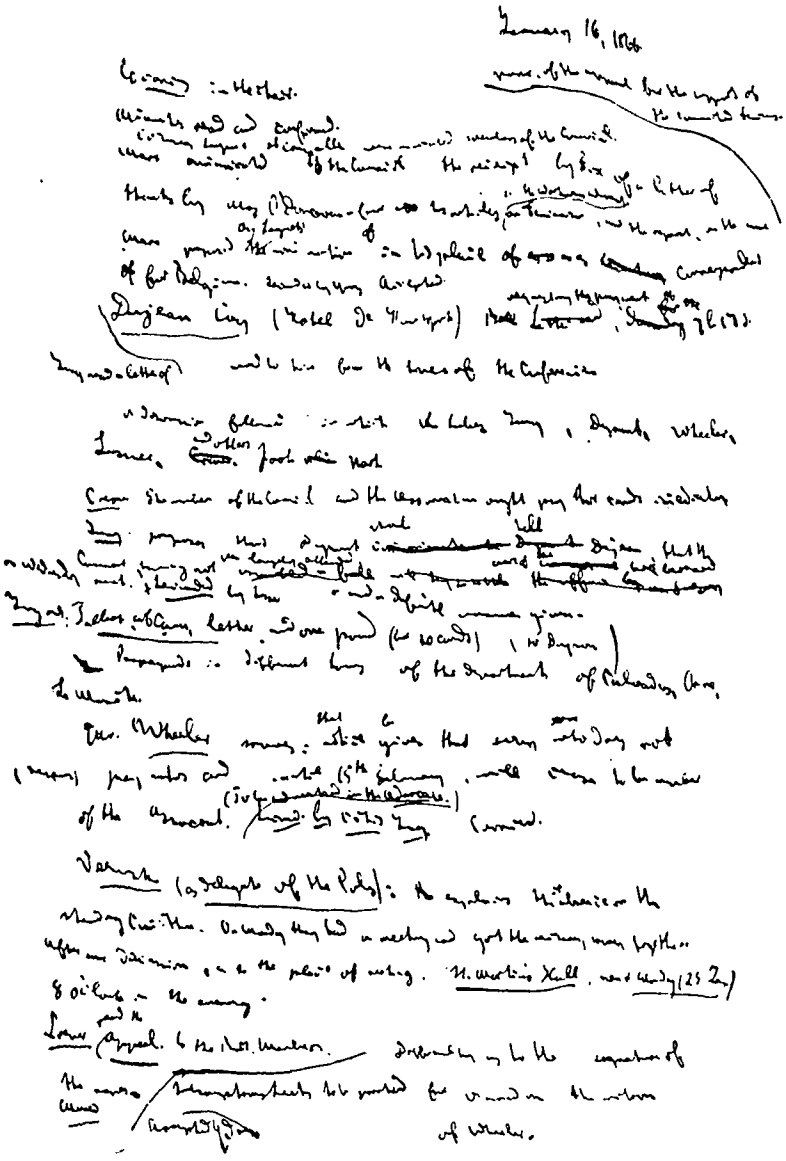
Le Lubez moved as an amendment that the subject be referred to a committee of three to conduct a correspondence with Vésinier. He objected to the harsh measure of expulsion. This amendment was not seconded.

The motion of *Marx* was carried with one dissentient and one neutral.

POLISH INSURRECTION OF JANUARY 22

Bobczynski stated that the Poles were intending to celebrate this event. He invited the co-operation of the Council.

The Council having previously resolved to celebrate this event,[157] the arrangements were referred to the Standing Committee.



Minutes of the General Council meeting of January 16, 1866, recorded by Karl Marx

SECRETARYSHIP

Cremer stated that the appeal for funds which the Council had resolved to emit must be sent out by somebody. Anxious to forward this business, he would resume the secretaryship until after the Congress. As his resignation had never been accepted and as no one had manifested any disposition to accept the office, he presumed no further formality would be necessary.

The Council then adjourned.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

January 16, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting read and confirmed.

Citizens Longuet and Crespelle were nominated members of the Central Council.

Marx communicated that Fox had received a letter from Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa thanking him for his articles on Fenianism in the *Workman's Advocate* and the reprint in the same paper of the ladies' appeal for the support of the convicted Fenians.[158]

Marx proposed the appointing of Longuet in his place as the corresponding secretary of Belgium. Seconded by *Jung*. Carried unanimously.

Jung read a letter of Mons. Dujonquoy, Hotel New York, requesting the payment of £7 17s. due to him since the September conference.

Jung proposed, *Lessner* seconded, that Dupont should be empowered to tell Dujonquoy that on Wednesday night

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 101-02 of the Minute Book. The minutes of this meeting were also recorded by Marx (see pp. 273-74 of the present volume).—*Ed.*

he should receive an instalment and a definite answer. Carried unanimously.

Jung read a letter from Talbot (Caen) enclosing one pound in payment for 20 cards. The letter stated that the propaganda is proceeding actively in different towns of the departments of Calvados, Orne and Manche.

Wheeler proposed, *Jung* seconded, that notice be given to every member of the Association in this country that failing to pay his contribution by the 13 February, his name will be struck out of the lists of members. Carried unanimously.

Werecki explained the absence of the Poles at the Standing Committee on Monday; they had a meeting and got the necessary money together.

After some discussion the public meeting in commemoration of the last Polish insurrection was settled for Monday, 22 January, in St. Martin's Hall.[159]

Cremer read an appeal to the British members of the Association.

On the motion of *Wheeler*, seconded by *Marx*, it was unanimously agreed:

1st. That the appeal ought to appear with the signatures of such British members of the Central Council as took part in its proceedings and were sufficiently known to Cremer as men not likely to repudiate their names being used;

2nd. That subscription-sheets ought to be printed;

3rd. That the money sent was to be directed to 18, Bouverie St.

The Council then adjourned.

President*

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

January 23, 1866

Odger in the chair.

The previous minutes read and confirmed.

The bill for the New York Hotel expenses was brought forward and discussed.

Dell agreed to advance two pounds towards paying an instalment which, with £1 10s. held by Wheeler, Cremer was ordered to pay.

Marx read a letter from the Leipsic correspondent Liebknecht. They had formed a small branch there; he also referred to a visit he had recently received from the editor of the *Social-Demokrat*.[160]

Marx also read letter from De Paepe explaining his long silence; he was sorry they had not increased in numbers; but they had now confederated with the "People" and had made the *Tribune of the People* their organ; they wished to exchange with the *Workman's Advocate*.[161]

Dupont read letter from Neufchâteau, from correspondent there, Lefebvre.

Jung also read extract from [the] *Forerunner* [and from] another paper *The Voice of the Future* published in the French language in Chaux-de-Fonds[162]; in Basle they had also formed two branches of the Association and were expecting a number of branches to join in Germany. They had read in a French paper that in Paris they had made 1,000 adherents in last month.[163]

Cremer called attention to the fact that Coraz who had some time since sailed for New York had been entrusted with 400 cards of membership, but no returns had been received.

Dupont stated he expected soon to hear from "New York".

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 103-04 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Dell nominated John Hales a member of the Central Council.

Dell thought that instead of issuing fresh cards, if the contribution was entered on the back of last year's card and signed by the Financial Secretary, that would be sufficient. Agreed to.

Weston thought the Central Council ought to begin to discuss the principles contained in the programme of the Congress.

Marx agreed but thought we ought first to decide the mode in which they ought to be discussed. He proposed: That the general purposes and ruling principles of the Association as laid down in the Address and Statutes be first defined before entering upon the discussion of the question proposed by the conference. *Weston* seconded.

Eccarius replied to Weston urging the necessity for political agitation now. They could not push two ways or they would succeed in neither. On the Continent they could not talk or write politics so they had nothing to interest them but social and religious questions. But here political agitation was a primary necessity.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

ROBERT SHAW, President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

January 30

Shaw in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

Cremer reported that he had paid Citizen Dujonquoy £3 10s. as a part of the Hotel bill owing him.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 104-05 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Dupont read a letter from Talbot of Caen.

Jung read a letter which he had drawn up in reply to Citizen Vésinier's attack on the Association. Referred to Standing Committee.[164]

Cremer called attention to the fact that a meeting of London trades delegates were about to assemble to consider the question of boards of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed. In the last session of parliament Lord St. Leonards had given notice of a bill for that purpose, and it was to consider the provisions of that bill that the meeting was about to assemble. In France there had been for years in active operation boards of arbitration and he thought if the Council were to appoint delegates to attend that meeting, that valuable information would be given to that meeting as to the working of the French councils.

Citizens Dupont and Jung were elected to attend the trades delegates' meeting.[165]

The Council then adjourned.

R. SHAW, President *pro tem.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

February 6

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair, Citizen *Fox* Secretary *pro tem.*

The *Secretary* read a letter from the Reform League requesting the Council to send a deputation to the forthcoming conference.

The appointment of a deputation was postponed until the next meeting of the Council.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from Lyons, containing amongst other information the following: that the pro-

* The minutes are on pp. 105-06 of the Minute Book. The first part is in an unknown hand.—*Ed.*

ceeds from the sale of 250 cards had been disbursed in the following manner, viz., £1.19.0 for printing, 2s. 8d. for postage, a check sent to the Central Council for £8.0.0. leaving the sum of 1s. 8d. to stand to the credit of the branch.

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from the 2nd number of the International journal published in Geneva containing the Address and Rules of the Association for the first time in the French language[166]; also that 54 new members had joined the branch up to the 3rd January; that the members of the society there had tendered for, and obtained, the contract for certain parish works to the amount of from £800 to £1,000; also that the members of the society had called a public meeting to review the late revision of the Federal Constitution.

Citizen *Jung* read from the bulletin of the Paris journal *L'Association* that in December last a congress of working men (representing 40 corporations) was held at Barcelona.[167] They were unanimous in favour of a federal union between their members. The centre of the union will be in Barcelona. The newspaper *El Obrero*[168] was appointed the official organ of the Association.

It was moved by Citizen *Jung* and seconded by Citizen *Dupont** that correspondence be opened with the president of the Barcelona Congress.

Citizen *Dupont* was invited and undertook to take upon himself this labour.

Citizen Marx being absent from illness, Citizen *Weston* as the seconder of the motion for the discussion on the objects of the Association said he was unwilling to open the discussion in the absence of the mover and accordingly proposed that the discussion be deferred until Citizen Marx be able to attend.

A motion to that effect was carried unanimously.

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* From here on the minutes are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

ANSWER TO CITIZEN VESINIER

Citizen *Weston* moved and *Carter* seconded:

That whereas the Standing Committee had not met to revise Jung's answer to Vésinier and as it was stated there was no immediate probability of their assembling for that purpose, Jung's answer be forthwith transmitted to the *Echo de Verviers*.* Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL***

February 13, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

First question: The appointment of delegates to the forthcoming Reform Conference.

Cremer proposed and *Weston* seconded that six delegates be elected.

A long discussion took place as to the policy to be pursued at the conference.[169]

Citizens Shaw, Fox, Carter, Williams, Jung, Lessner, were elected as delegates to attend the conference.

Citizen *Dupont* nominated Citizen Ortiga as a member of the Central Council.

Jung read a letter from Duhamel, our Lisieux correspondent, stating they were not making much progress as they, the members, had been threatened by their employers with being discharged if they belonged to the Association. Duhamel replied that his opinions were those of the Association and he should persevere. He had also been threat-

* See pp. 317-26 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 107 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ened by the local attorney-general and the Justice of the Peace; to them he gave the same answer as he did to employers. They had no money at present but he hoped soon to be able to send some. Jung gave report of his and Citizen Dupont's delegation to the trades meeting at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey. He believed they had succeeded in doing good and making propaganda for the Association.

Cremer confirmed Citizen Jung's statement as to the good impression which Citizens Dupon and Jung had produced at the meeting.

The same testimony was borne [out] by Citizens *Fox* and *Eccarius*.[170]

Lessner and *Fox* proposed:

That Citizens Dupont and Jung be requested to attend the adjourned meeting to be held on Wednesday, the 21st January.* Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

JOHN GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

February 20, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Fox* brought under notice the treatment of the Irish state prisoners in Pentonville prison. Pope Hennessy had recently called attention to the matter in a letter which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*,[171] and the *Lancet* had also denounced the system as tending to insanity.[172] He thought that a deputation ought to wait on Sir G. Grey for the purpose of procuring a better mode of

* Error. Should read: February 21.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 108 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

treatment for these unfortunate men. Citizen Fox read a letter from Mrs. O'Donovan Rossa thanking Citizen Fox for his exertions on behalf of Irish liberty.[173]

A long discussion took place on the question taken part in by Citizens *Lubez, Bordage, Cremer, Howell, Weston, Eccarius* and *Dell.*

Citizen *Fox* having replied to all objectors proposed the following resolution:

That Sir George Grey be asked to receive a deputation from this Council to request him to mitigate the treatment now inflicted on the Irish state prisoners in Pentonville prison.

Citizen *Weston* seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

Citizen *Howell* proposed, Citizen *Lessner* seconded:

That members of the Central Council be written to informing them that their subscriptions for 1866 are due and requesting them to pay immediately. Carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF ORTIGA

Citizen *Dupont* proposed and Citizen *Jung* seconded that Citizen Ortiga be elected a member of the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

CITIZEN KAUB'S LOAN

Citizen *Dell* proposed, *Cremer* seconded, that Kaub's loan to the Council be paid. Carried unanimously.

AUDITING THE ACCOUNTS

Citizen *Shaw* proposed, Citizen *Jung* seconded, that the accounts be audited forthwith. Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned.

Confirmed as amended.*
P. FOX

* The last line was written in Fox's hand after the minutes were read at the Council's next meeting.—*Ed.*

*Tuesday, February 27**

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Dupont* proposed Citizen Lafargue as a member of the Central Council.

Citizen *Longuet* read a letter from our Paris correspondents in reply to Vésinier's charge of Bonapartism, published in the *Espiègle* of Brussels.[174]

Citizen *Jung* brought forward a letter from General Paz in reply to Marshal Forey's observation in the French Senate[175] which had been published in the *Morning Advertiser* and desired the Council to send it to the *Commonwealth* with a request that it be republished.

Citizen *Fox* objected and thought it best simply to submit it to the editor's discretion without recommendation of any kind.

This suggestion was adopted and a letter was written to the editor of the *Commonwealth*[176] enclosing a copy of Paz's letter.

A long conversation on the affairs of Mexico then ensued and the Council then adjourned.**

*Tuesday, March 6****

President *Odger* in the chair.

Cremer announced the receipt of a letter from Sir George Grey refusing to receive a deputation from this Association anent the treatment of the Irish state prisoners.

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* No heading. The minutes are in Fox's hand on p. 109 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** No heading. The minutes are in Fox's hand on pp. 109-11 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Fox stated that he had drawn up a statement of the arguments and facts which he read and proposed that it be signed by the President and sent for publication to the editor of the *Commonwealth*.

Lessner seconded the same. Carried unanimously.[177]

Citizen *Dupont* proposed, *Jung* seconded, the election of Citizen Lafargue, one of the expelled students of Paris,[178] as a member of the Central Council. He was elected unanimously.

Fox then made a speech in French informing of his election and of the unwonted pleasure the Council had in receiving him among them.

Citizen *Lafargue* replied in suitable terms.

Citizen *Louis Wolff* then brought before the Council the article written by Jung in the name of the Central Council and published in the *Echo de Verviers*.[179] He complained of the introduction of his name into the controversy as Vésinier had not mentioned it and of the statement that he and his Italian friends did not enjoy the confidence of the working men of Italy. It was false to say he had ever been at Naples. He further alleged that there were four falsehoods concerning Mazzini, viz., that the *réglements* were not drawn up by him, that he did not know of Marx's Address and, lastly, that had he known of it, he would have opposed its adoption. Fourthly that Mazzini did not oppose the translation of the Address but only objected to certain passages therein amounting in all to 9 or 10 words.

Citizen *Jung* defended his letter and said that the Italian Socialists had no confidence in Wolff & Co.

Wolff rejoined that the word "Socialist" was nowhere used, and that there were no Socialists in Italy in the French sense of the word.

After a discussion in which Citizens *Cremer*, *Odger*, *Weston*, *Howell*, *Le Lubez*, *Fox*, and *Eccarius* took part,

the following resolution was passed (with two dissentients):

"The offensive expressions with regard to an eminent writer of Latin race written in the name of the Central Council in reply to Vésinier's attack on the Association and published in the *Echo de Verviers*, having arisen through a misunderstanding, the Central Council willingly withdraws such expressions and also any expressions of similar character in relation to Citizen Wolff and his friends."[180]

On the motion of Citizen Fox it was ordered that not less than 3,000 copies of the address for funds be printed.[181]

The Council then adjourned to the 13th.*

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING***

March 13, 1866

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the previous meeting was postponed by common consent.

THE REFORM CONFERENCE

Citizen Fox gave a report of the International Association's deputation to the Reform Conference so far as he and Citizen Shaw were concerned.[182]

Eccarius confirmed the accuracy of the same.

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* Unsigned. The last line is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are on pp. 111-12 of the Minute Book. The first four paragraphs are in Cremer's hand, the rest are in an unknown hand. The concluding two paragraphs are written by Fox on a separate piece of paper marked 6, apparently the last sheet of his rough copy.—*Ed.*

SWITZERLAND

Citizen *Jung* made a report of the doings in that country.[183]

FRANCE

Citizen *Dupont* asked for credentials for some of his correspondents in France.

CITIZENS MARX, WOLFF AND MAZZINI

Citizen *Marx* made a speech in reference to the proceedings at the previous meeting. He said it was not true, as Major Wolff had stated, that Mazzini had written our Statutes. He, Marx, wrote them after discussion in Committee. Several draughts were discussed, Wolff's draught among the rest. On two points they were quite distinguished from each other. Marx spoke of capital oppressing labour. Wolff wanted centralisation and understood by Working Men's Associations only benefit societies. Mazzini's statutes were printed at the time of the conference in Naples. It could hardly be true that Mazzini had seen Marx's Address before it was printed as it was in Marx's pocket, unless Mazzini saw it after it had been put in Le Lubez's hands and before it had been taken to the *Bee-Hive*.

Again Mazzini wrote to Brussels, to Fontaine, a letter which was to be communicated to the Belgian societies, in which he warned them against Marx's Socialist views. This was stated by De Paepe at the conference.

Major Wolff was not a member of the Council. Major Wolff ought to have sent a letter informing the Council that he intended to prefer his complaint. He [Marx] protested against the proceedings at the last meeting in the name of himself and the other Continental secretaries. He desired a note of this to be taken as it might be brought before the Congress at Geneva.

Le Lubez said there were two documents [one] of which was not exclusively Marx's, something was taken from Mazzini's manuscript. He explained how Vésinier's mistake arose; he insisted that Major Wolff was a delegate of the Italian Society at our Board.

Dupont protested against the attitude of the Central Council and against its resolution. He admitted the error of fact in Jung's letter about Major Wolff being at Naples.

Citizen *Orsini* asserted that there were Socialists in Italy and that Mazzini held a reactionary attitude towards science. Charles Cattaneo and Ferrari were Socialists.

Fox made a speech in which he stated that he was not a worshipper of Mazzini as a European leader, neither did he think that the majority of the British members had any decided leanings in that direction.

The meeting then adjourned.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

March 20, 1866

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

On the motion of Citizen *Dell*, seconded by Citizen *Buckley*, Citizen Shaw was elected *pro tem.* the secretary.

The *President* having stated that the minutes of the last meeting could not be read in consequence of Citizen Fox being engaged at the Reform League.

Citizen *Jung* said: he was sorry the minutes of the last meeting could not be read because Citizen Orsini who was about to start for America was anxious that what he had said regarding Mazzini should not be misconstrued as he had the greatest respect for Mazzini.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Shaw's hand on p. 113 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Jung* then said that Citizen Orsini would leave letters of introduction to the leading Socialists of Spain, Portugal and Italy; also, that he had recommended a friend who, when he became a member of the Council, would act as secretary for Italy.

Citizen *Dell*, the Financial Secretary, presented Citizen Orsini with 24 books of the Laws of the Association for him to distribute on his travels.

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from Swiss correspondence and expressed a strong desire that the Standing Committee should resume its weekly sittings.

Citizen Buckley was then appointed to wait upon Citizen Cremer to obtain the proof-copy of the Council's appeal to the societies and to forward the same to the printer.*

The meeting then adjourned to March 27th.**

*COUNCIL MEETING****

March 27

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair.

Citizen *Shaw* Secretary *pro tem.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed on the motion of Citizen *Jung*, seconded by Citizen *Lessner.*

Citizen *Buckley* having reported that he had not been able since the last meeting to get the proof-sheet of the Council's appeal from Citizen Cremer, it was proposed by Citizen *Jung* and seconded by Citizen *Lessner*:

That President Eccarius be empowered to get 5,000 copies of the appeal printed as soon as possible. Carried.

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* See pp. 313-16 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 114-15 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from Lyons asking for 100 cards and complaining at not having received per return of post an answer to a letter sent to him on the 15th of March, which letter he (citizen Dupont) had not received.

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from the German journal of the Association as follows: that during the month of February 67 new members had joined the Geneva section of the Association; that new branches had been formed in the following places, viz., 1 in Pinneberg (Schleswig-Holstein), 1 in Solingen (Rhenish Prussia), 6 in Wustegiersdorf (Prussian Silesia), 1 in Aubonne (Swiss Land), 2 in Peterswaldau, 2 in Langenbielau, 1 in Emsdorf, the last 5 being situated in the weaving districts of Silesia.[184]

The tailors' strike was then introduced by Citizen *Hansen* who said that Mr. Poole of Saville Row intended to get men from the Continent to supplant those on strike.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Shaw* and seconded by Citizen *Lucraft*:

That the Continental secretaries be instructed to inform their respective correspondents, with a view to keeping Continental workmen away from London during the struggle now pending.[185]

Citizens William Ayers and William Gardner paid ls. 2d. each for Rules and cards for 1866.

Citizen *Dupont* proposed and Citizen *Jung* seconded that Citizen Lafargue be appointed secretary for Spain.

The sum of 6d. was paid to President Eccarius to pay the postage of letters to Germany on the tailors' strike.

Citizen *Le Lubez* wished to know what had been done on the resolution of the Council on the 6th of March which authorised the withdrawal of certain statements published by the Council in the *Echo de Verviers*.

The *President* said in answer that the Council had at the following meeting repudiated the whole affair as be-

ing irregular and that the matter would be brought before the Council again shortly.

The meeting then adjourned to April 3rd.*

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING***

April 3

Citizen *Eccarius* in the chair, Citizen Shaw Secretary *pro tem.*

The minutes of the previous meeting having been read and slightly altered, were confirmed.

The *President* then said that before acting on the resolution of the Council with respect to the tailors' strike, he had waited on the Tailors' Executive Committee who informed him that they had written to Germany. Consequently, he considered that there was no necessity for him to proceed any further in the matter.

Citizen *Jung* said that since the last meeting he had had an interview with the Tailors' Executive Committee and the result was an expression of kind feeling towards the Association and a promise to join it.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from correspondent De Marckel of Granville in Department of Manche, stating that he had enrolled 30 members and that he wished to have Citizen Madiot appointed as correspondent for the town Rennes in the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Dupont* and seconded by Citizen *Jung* that Citizen Madiot be appointed correspondent for Rennes.

Citizen *Jung* read correspondence from the Lausanne branch, whose members are the most active and practical

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 115-17 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

in Switzerland, stating that they have for some time past been discussing the propriety of building working men's houses in Lausanne on the plan of those erected in Guise in France; they had agreed upon a scheme for raising the money and wished to have their plan discussed at the Congress.[186]

He also read two letters: one from Citizen Becker and the other from Citizen Dupleix, both reminding the Central Council that the date fixed for the assembling of Congress was drawing nigh and complaining that for months past the Central Council had given no signs of life. They observed that, if the inactivity continued much longer, it would be fatal to the Association. They asked a number of questions and required answers immediately: 1st, the precise date of the opening of Congress; 2nd, how the expenses of the delegates were to be defrayed; and other questions of an administrative kind. They wished the Central Council to issue a circular in the different languages, clearly setting forth the questions to be discussed at Congress.

Citizen *Hales* said that the Coventry Ribbon and Smallwares Weavers' Association were desirous of joining our Association. They numbered 1,000 members.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Hales* and seconded by Citizen *Le Lubez*:

That the Coventry Ribbon and Smallwares Weavers' Association, held at the Elephant and Castle, Hill Fields, Coventry, be admitted as an affiliated branch of the Association. Carried *nem. con.*

The Standing Committee having recommended that the appeal to working men for funds for the expenses of the Congress be sent out immediately, President Eccarius was appointed to send them out and Citizen Buckley was appointed to draw two pounds from the Treasurer to purchase postage stamps with.

A letter from Citizen Wolff was read stating that he should bring certain matters before the Council on the 10th instant.

A letter from Citizen Cremer was read stating that on the 10th instant. he should state the course he intended to pursue in relation to the Association.

Cash statement: received 1s. 1d. from Citizen Wolff; 1s. from John Jenkins, 6, Little Dean Street; 1s. from R. Kelly, 36, Little Pulteney Street; 5s. from the Coventry weavers, making a total of 8s. 1d.

The meeting then adjourned to April 10th.*

*COUNCIL MEETING***

April 10, 1866

Citizen *Fox* in the chair, Citizen *Shaw* Secretary *pro tem.*

Members present: Citizens *Hraybe, Werecki, Hansen, Williams, Bobczynski, Hales, Carter, Lafargue, Dupont, Jung, Le Lubez, Marx, Lessner, Eccarius,* and *Buckley.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Jung* proposed and Citizen *Dupont* seconded Citizen James Trani as a member of the Council.

Citizen *Lessner* proposed and Citizen *Hraybe* seconded Citizen Maurice as a member of the Council.

After some discussion, it was proposed by Citizen *Dupont* and seconded by Citizen *Jung*: That a deputation be sent to the Tailors' Executive Committee.

It was then proposed by Citizen *Shaw* and seconded by Citizen *Le Lubez:* that Citizens Dupont, Fox, and Jung do

* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 118-19 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

wait upon the Tailors' Executive Committee at the Green Dragon, King Street, Golden Square.

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from the journal *L'Association* chiefly referring to the coming Congress.[187]

The *President* having expressed an opinion with regard to the financial position of the Council, it was proposed by Citizen *Jung* and seconded by Citizen *Marx*: That Citizens Shaw and Le Lubez do wait upon Citizen Cremer for the purpose of getting a statement or the books.

The *President* then reported that the West End Women's Bootmakers' Society had granted one pound for the use of the Council and that they had proposed Citizen Odger as a delegate to Congress, but he had advised that the subject should be dealt with by the Amalgamated Cordwainers' Society.

After a lengthy discussion, it was proposed [by] Citizen *Jung* and seconded by Citizen *Dupont*:

That the Congress do assemble on the first Monday in June next and that the sitting of Congress extend five days.

Citizen *Eccarius* said that since the last meeting he had sent the appeals of the Council to the following societies, viz., the Amalgamated Cordwainers, the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, the Operative Bricklayers and to the London and Manchester branches of the Amalgamated Engineers, etc. He also said that not having a sufficient number of subscription-sheets he had got 100 extra printed.

The letter addressed to the Council on April 3rd by Citizen Wolff was read by the *President* but no action upon it.

The meeting then adjourned to April 17th.*

* Unsigned.—Ed.

*COUNCIL MEETING**

April 17, 1866

Citizen *Odger* in the chair, Citizen *Shaw* Secretary *pro tem.*

Members present: Citizens *Fox, Cremer, Carter, Weston, Le Lubez, Coulson, Buckley, Wolff, Marx, Lessner, Hraybe, Maurice, Jung, Dupont, Eccarius,* and *Lafargue.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and after a slight alteration were confirmed on the motion of Citizen *Jung,* [seconded] by Citizen *Marx.*

Citizens Maurice and Trani were unanimously elected members of the Central Council.

Mr. *Burry* said he was deputed by the Executive Committee of Tailors' Association to inform the Council that their association had decided upon joining our Association and that at their special meeting in May a vote of money would be proposed for the use of the Council. He also tendered the thanks of their association for the services rendered during their late struggle.

On the motion of Citizen *Jung,* the Tailors' Association was admitted as a branch of our Association.

Citizen *Marx* reported that he had received £3.0.0 from Germany for members' cards, which he paid to the Financial Secretary.**

Citizens Weston and Jung were deputed to attend the Plasterers' Committee on Thursday evening next in Leather Lane.

Citizens *Odger* and *Cremer* were deputed to wait upon the City Women's Shoemakers at the Bell Inn, Old Bailey.

A letter was read from Hartlepool by the *Financial Secretary* which he had replied to by sending the Laws of the Association.

* The minutes are in Shaw's hand on pp. 119-21 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Dell.—*Ed.*

On the motion of Citizen *Dupont*, seconded by Citizen *Lafargue*, Citizens Prudhomme and Buzon were elected correspondents for Bordeaux.

Citizen *Cremer* said he was now prepared to resume his duties as secretary until the Congress and that he should be ready with his financial statement on next meeting night.

Citizens Fox, Le Lubez, and Coulson were elected to audit the accounts on Tuesday next at 6 o'clock precisely.

Citizen *Wolff* then renewed the subject which had been discussed on the 6th of March by the Council, and read a letter from Citizen Fontana to strengthen his view of the matter.

A long discussion then took place in which Citizens *Odger, Marx, Jung, Cremer, Fox, Le Lubez, Weston, Shaw* [participated and] which ended, after mutual explanations had been given, with the following resolution proposed by Citizen *Marx* and seconded by Citizen *Dupont*:

That Citizen Longuet do translate the resolution passed by the Council on the 6th of March and forward the same for publication to the *Echo de Verviers*.

The meeting then adjourned to April 24th.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

April 24, 1866

Citizen *Dell* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The *Chairman* asked Citizen Shaw if he was willing to resign the office of secretary *pro tem.*, which he had filled for some weeks.[188]

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* Unsigned.— *Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 121-22 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Shaw* said he was.

Citizen *Cremer* said he was quite willing to stand aside to make way for Citizen Shaw.

Several members spoke on the question, and ultimately it was agreed on the proposition of Citizen *Shaw*, seconded by Citizen *Eccarius*, that Citizen Cremer resume his duties as secretary.

Mr. B. *Patis*, delegate from the wire-workers, attended to thank the Council for the efforts which they had put forth to prevent their employers getting workmen from the Continent to supply the places of the men on strike. He also stated the wire-workers would join the Association.[189]

Jung read letter from Dujonquoy asking for the balance of his account.* Ordered to be paid.

Citizen *Jung* read letter from Dupleix and Becker urging the necessity for the postponement of the Congress to the last week in September. They also announced that the Central Committee of the Italian societies had given in their adhesion to the principles of the Association and stated they would have a central gathering in June when the necessity for joining the Association and sending delegates to the Congress would be discussed and decided.[190]

Citizen *Trani* suggested that Citizen Jung should enquire of Citizens Becker and Dupleix what the Italian societies were who had so expressed themselves and where they were located.

Jung proposed, *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Dupont write to Paris urging on the Paris Administration the necessity of postponing the Congress. Carried unanimously.

The *Secretary*** brought up the report of the Standing Committee. Their first recommendation was the reprint of the Address and Statutes.

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* See pp. 159, 161 of the present volume.—*Ed.*
** Cremer.—*Ed.*

Jung proposed, *Wheeler* seconded, that Citizen Leno be asked to print 1,000 more copies of [the] Address and Rules.[191] Carried unanimously.

The *President* read credentials from the Tailors' Protective Association stating that Citizen Burry had been deputed by that body to represent them on the Central Council.

Citizens *Eccarius* and *Wheeler* proposed that Citizen Burry be accepted as the tailors' representative on the Central Council. Carried unanimously.

The further consideration of the propositions from the Standing Committee was postponed till the next sitting.

The Council then adjourned.

J. CARTER, President *Pro tem.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

May 1, 1866

Citizen *Carter* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizens *Jung* and *Dupont* proposed that Citizen Giacomo Trani be elected secretary for Italy. In proposing Citizen Trani, Citizen Jung eulogised Citizen Trani's devotion to the principles of liberty and the cause of progress generally.

Citizen *Longuet*,** the Secretary for Belgium, read from the Brussels *Tribune du Peuple* an exhortation to the wire-workers of Belgium not to engage with the London master wire-workers at the present time.[192]

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 123-26 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 165, May 5, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Fox* laid upon the table copies of the St. Louis *Miner and Artisan* containing extracts from the London and Continental organs of the Association.*

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from De Marckel of Granville, Manche, asking for the names of those who desired copies of the *Congrès Ouvrier*.[193] He had been visiting the workmen in their dinner-hour making propagandism for the Association. He had assured them that the Association was not political but that all was fair and above board. He expected to be successful in his locality.

Citizen *Lafargue*** read a letter from Prudhomme of Bordeaux asking where he should send the money received for members' cards. Lafargue was instructed to advise him to send it to the Central Council.

Dupont read a letter from Fribourg (Paris) stating the Paris Administration were opposed to the further postponement of the Congress for the following reasons:

1. That the September conference had given a solemn pledge to Europe to convoke the Congress in May.

2. That very many were waiting for the assembling of the Congress which would decide them as to giving in their adhesion to the Association.

3. That three months' delay will not make the Association and might destroy it. In Paris they had begun to prepare for the election of their delegates, as yet they could not say how many would be elected but they might at all events count on a score. The delegates would carry with them a complete plan of organisation for the Association as well as the results of their deliberations on the proposed questions. They were glad to hear of the progress the Association was making in England and finally they did not believe that the convocation of the Congress on the 4th of June would interfere with the prestige of the

* The clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Here and further on in these minutes Longuet's name was recorded originally instead of Lafargue's.—*Ed.*

Association. The letter concluded by referring to the correspondence from the provinces as being indicative of a desire for the assembling of the Congress on June 4th but if the Central Council determined to postpone the Congress for three months, they in Paris must make the best of the decision.

Citizen *Lafargue* said he thought Fribourg exaggerated somewhat the injuries that would arise from the postponement of the Congress. The decision of the Central Council might cause a panic in Paris but such would not be the case in many other parts of France where the Association had only just begun.

Dupont thought the Lyonnese would be favourable to the further postponement of the Congress; he judged so from past correspondence.

Jung thought it essential to decide when the Congress should be held. Supposing that it was decided to further postpone it, he feared we must override the views of our Parisian friends. He would prefer August to September as in the latter month men generally would be too much engaged to attend.

Some of the Council having expressed a desire to (if possible) convoke the Congress on the anniversary of the Association, viz., the 28th September, Citizen *Jung* replied and expressed fears that such date would be almost fatal, but he would propose the first Monday in September as the day for the assembling of the Congress.

Citizen *Maurice* seconded the proposition[194] which was carried unanimously.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE CONTINENT

Marx proposed, *Fox* seconded: That the secretaries of the respective nationalities announce as quickly as possible to their correspondents the above decision. Carried unanimously.

NOMINATION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizens Frank Robert and Ralph Dutton were nominated by *Cremer* and *Lessner.*

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

The *Secretary* then brought up the report of the Standing Committee adjourned from the last sitting of the Council, but as the Council had decided to postpone the Congress, the immediate adoption of the propositions from the Standing Committee had been obviated and their further consideration was again adjourned with the exception of the two following which were carried unanimously on the proposition of *Cremer* and *Le Lubez*:

"That each member of the Central Council hold himself in readiness to visit organised bodies to induce them to join the Association and to contribute towards the expenses of the Congress.

"That all societies sending delegates to the Congress must pay the expenses of the delegates."

REPORT OF DEPUTATIONS

Jung gave report of his and Citizen Lafargue's visit to No. 2 Lodge of Operative Bricklayers. They had been most enthusiastically received and had received promises of support. The members had also expressed surprise that they had not been waited on before.

Cremer reported that he had waited on the City of London Ladies' Shoemakers who were compelled to adjourn from pressure of business. Consequently he did not get a hearing but they had invited him to their next meeting and promised him a hearing. Cremer also reported that he had made arrangements with the Secretary of the Day

Working Bookbinders for a deputation to wait on their next meeting.*

Citizen *Dupont* stated that the French branch in London of the International Association had resolved to form a co-operative association.

THE TAILORS AND THEIR LATE STRIKE

Lessner reported that as a number of German tailors had been imported into Edinburgh and as it was currently reported that some of the London employers were making arrangements to bring several here, the German tailors resident in London had formed themselves into a committee and wished to co-operate with the Council of the International Working Men's Association to checkmate the designs of the employers and their agents which they had in Germany.[195]

Marx stated that if Lessner would send him the facts, that he would directly communicate with the German papers.[196]

The Council then adjourned.

G. W. WHEELER, Chairman

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

May 8, 1866

Citizen *Wheeler* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting read and confirmed.

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* Here three lines from a report in *The Commonwealth*, No. 165, May 5, 1866, are pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 126-29 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizens Ralph and James Dutton were elected on the proposition of Citizens *Cremer* and *Lessner*.

NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCILMEN

A. Haufe. Nominated by Citizen *Lessner*.
J. D. Prior. Nominated by Citizen *Cremer*.

SECRETARY FOR POLAND

The *General Secretary* asked for instructions on the above question as another edition of the Address and Statutes were being printed and as the present nominal secretary for Poland* had not attended the Council for months; he wished to know if his name was to be allowed to remain as secretary.

Citizen *Marx* proposed Citizen Bobczynski.

Citizen *Fox* seconded the proposition. Carried unanimously.

AMERICAN SECRETARY

Citizen Fox was elected secretary for America in place of Citizen Leon Lewis.

DEPUTATIONS

Citizens Jung, Dutton and Cremer were elected to wait on the Amalgamated Engineers' Council.

BOOKBINDERS

Citizens Wheeler, James Dutton and Hales to wait on Bookbinders.

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* Holtorp.—*Ed.*

TO COOPERS

Cremer, Dupont and Jung.

REPORT OF DEPUTATIONS

Jung reported the result of his visit to No. 1 Lodge OBL.* They had warmly received him and had promised to urge on their Executive the necessity of sending a delegate to the Congress.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dupont read a letter from Lyons. On the 30th of April they had held a meeting at which 210 members attended, when five members were elected to attend the Congress. A committee of 5 was also elected to consider and report on the various questions in the programme. They wished to know whether they were to retain the money they received for members' cards till the Congress, or if they were to send it to the Central Council. They hoped soon to have from 2,000 to 3,000 members in Lyons. They had lately received a request from Villefranche for permission to open a new branch there.

Citizens *Fox* and *Hales* proposed:

That the Lyonnese be requested to send to the Central Council one-fourth** of the contributions they receive for members' cards.

Citizens *Marx* and *Jung* proposed:

That Citizen Dupont write to the Lyonnese telling them they are at liberty to use the money they have in hand if they do not obtain sufficient to pay the expenses of the delegates by voluntary contributions.

For Fox's resolution—6. For amendment—8.

Amendment carried.

* Operative Bricklayers.—*Ed.*

** Here the words "one-third", originally written down, were changed to "one-fourth".—*Ed.*

Citizens *Howell* and *Cremer* proposed that all branches of the Association remit to the Central Council not less than one-fourth of the money they receive from members' contributions.

Amendment proposed by *Marx* and *Jung*:

That the question of branch contributions to the Central Council be referred to the Standing Committee except the case of Lyons.

For resolution—5. For amendment—4.

Citizen *Jung* in the absence of* the secretary for Italy** read a letter from Citizen Canessa, of Genoa, the editor of a working men's paper in that seaport. It gave an account of the federation of working men's associations in Genoa, and expressed a desire for further information concerning the principles and procedure of the International Working Men's Association.[197]

Citizen *Jung**** laid copies of the last number of the *Vorbote* on the table and read extracts from its monthly bulletin. From this it appeared that fifty-three members had joined the Association in Geneva in April last, and notice of adhesion had been received from the following recently founded sections, namely, [in] Biel (Canton Berne); [in] Lausanne (Canton Vaud); in Gräfrath (Rhenish Prussia); in St. Imier, a mixed body of German and Latin race; in Porrentruy (Canton Berne). The mixed (Teutono-Latin) section of Chaux-de-Fonds had increased [by] sixty in April last, and the pure Latin section by forty-five members.[198]

The same Secretary announced that the Central Committee of Geneva had received the following letter from Gaspare Stampa, of Milan, in the name of the Central Committee of Italian working men's associations[199]:

* Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 166, May 12, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Trani.—*Ed.*

*** The word "Jung" is in handwriting.—*Ed.*

"Milan, April 1866

"Respected Committee,—The fraternal bond of the Italian working men's associations was formed in Naples in October 1865,[200] and at the same time a committee was appointed to bring this union to the general cognisance, and to set it into operation according to the resolution sent herewith.

"Our aims are your aims, and the more extensive our relations, the more powerful is our life.

"The Central Committee, whose organ I am, would not be doing its duty if it did not claim your co-operation. The death of Professor Savi in Genoa, who was one of the most indefatigable propagandists of the working class question, as well as the distance from each other of the members of the Committee, who live in different places, have been in this, the first year of our existence, the cause of much hindrance to our work.

"We hereby give our full and entire adhesion to your programme, and we beg you at the same time to gladden us with your fraternal intercourse, and to send us your organ the *Vorbote*, in order that our *Moniteur** may make use of its important and praiseworthy contents.

"In the name of the Central Committee,

"Fraternally yours,

"*Gustav Stampa.***"

The *General Secretary* read correspondence from the Darlington Shoemakers expressing their deep interest in the Association and promising future support. Also from the Darlington Tailors sending in their adhesion and 5s.

Citizen *Fox* gave notice that at the next meeting of the Council he should call attention to a passage in the last letter of Citizen Engels[201] which passage involved the question of nationalities.***

EXCURSION TO IRELAND

Citizen *Weston* brought before the Central Committee the project of Mr. Lilley, to form an excursion party of

* *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane.*—*Ed.*

** An error. Should be: Gaspare Stampa. The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 166, May 12, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

300 persons to Ireland in July or August next. As this body had at heart the amelioration of the relations between the English and Irish peoples, he thought it was opportune to bring the matter to their notice. Mr. Lilley had communicated with the manager of the London and North-Western Railway, who had responded favourably to Mr. Lilley's overtures.*

The Council then adjourned.

President *Pro Tem.***

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL****

May 15, 1866

Citizen *Shaw* in the chair.

The minutes of the former meeting were read and confirmed.

BRANCHES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Citizens *Marx* and *Jung* proposed:

That the resolution with regard to the branches sending one-fourth of their income to the Central Council be rescinded.**** Carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

The following were unanimously elected as members of the Council:

Citizen Haufe proposed by *Lessner* and *Hraybe*;

Citizen J. D. Prior proposed by *Cremer* and *Fox*.

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* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed*

*** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 129-30 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** See p. 189 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

AUDITING ACCOUNTS

On the motion of Citizens *Carter* and *Hales* it was agreed that the Standing Committee were to audit the accounts.

NEW BRANCHES

The following were admitted as affiliated branches of the Association:

The Darlington section of the Amalgamated Tailors, 62 in number.

The Darlington section of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, 60 in number.

REPORT FROM STANDING COMMITTEE

The Committee recommend:

That for the future all resolutions passed at the Central Council be translated to the Continental members. Carried unanimously.

CONTINENTAL REPORTS

Citizen *Marx* read extracts from Leipsic journals[202] cautioning German tailors against coming to England to supplant the English tailors who were on strike.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

May 22, 1866

Citizen *Le Lubez* in the chair.

The *Secretary**** stated he had been disappointed in

* The minutes abruptly end here, unsigned. Page 131 of the Minute Book is blank.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 132-34 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Cremer.—*Ed.*

[not] receiving from Citizen Fox some report of the proceedings at the last meeting, and it was unanimously agreed to defer reading the minutes till the next meeting.

REPORTS FROM THE CONTINENT

Citizen *Jung* read extracts from the *Vorbote* which stated that £7 10s. had been sent by a Social-Democrat* in Rhenish Prussia to the Geneva section towards the expenses of the Congress.[203]

CORRESPONDENCE. SWITZERLAND

Citizen *Jung*** read correspondence from Geneva. The bootmakers of Geneva, owing to the low price of their wages, the increase of rent and every necessary of life, had resolved to ask for an advance of wages. They presented a tariff to the masters. The men have applied to the Geneva section of the International Association, asking them to inform the men in other countries.[204] The Geneva Committee have informed the men of Paris, Lyons, Switzerland, and Germany, and they hope we on our part will do the same.***

FRANCE

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from Citizen Tolain complaining about the Congress being postponed and stating that the result would, he feared, be very injurious to the Association.

After a great deal of discussion on the question and the contents of the letter, *Cremer* and *Shaw* proposed:

That after considering at the instance of the Paris Administration the question of the postponement of the

* Stumpf.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 168, May 26, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** The clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

Congress the Central Council cannot see any reasons to induce them to depart from their decision, viz., to convoke the Congress on the 4th of September next.

ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Dell* read letters containing remittances from Nottingham Cordwainers, Wolverhampton Bricklayers, Dewsbury Cordwainers, Birmingham Cordwainers, Tunbridge Wells do, Cheltenham do.[205]

The *General Secretary* read letters from the Engineers and Cabinet-Makers.

Citizens Lubez, Dutton and Shearman were appointed to wait on the Stratford Lodge of Bricklayers. Citizens Weston, Hales, Jung and Dupont were appointed to wait on Cabinet-Makers' Society.

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Jung* gave a report of a visit to the Coopers' Society.

Citizen *Lafargue* thought a report ought to appear weekly in the *Commonwealth* of the doings of the Council.[206]

Citizen *Dell* thought there ought to be a division of labour. He would propose Citizen Shaw as minute secretary with Citizen Jung to assist him in translating foreign correspondence.

Citizen *Buckley* seconded the proposition. Carried unanimously.

Citizens *Haufe* and *Hansen* reported the result of their mission to Edinburgh in connection with the importation of German tailors to supplant the Scotch tailors; they had succeeded in making propaganda for the Association.[207]

REPORT FROM STANDING COMMITTEE

Cremer brought up the report of the Committee. They recommended that as there were liabilities to discharge, that a ball should be held at Cambridge Hall.

The Council did not endorse the proposition which fell through.

The Committee also recommended that cards and Rules be left with the secretaries of societies that are waited on by deputations. Agreed to.

They also recommended that each member of the Central Council take 6 cards each and try to dispose of them. Agreed to.

Citizen *Dupont* nominated Citizen Amédée Combault as a member of the Central Council.

The Council then adjourned.

GEO ODGER, President

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

May 29, 1866

President *Odger* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCILMEN

Citizens Harry and Harvey proposed by *Cremer*, seconded by *Dutton*.

Do. Joseph Jayet proposed by *Dupont* and *Lafargue*.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizen Amédée Combault proposed [by] *Dupont* and *Lafargue*.

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Weston* reported result of visit [to] Alliance Cabinet-Makers; very enthusiastically received and requested to attend again on 30 inst.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 134-35 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Dutton* reported result [of visit to] Stratford Bricklayers; had been well received, and arranged with Citizen Shearman to attend another Lodge on Saturday next.

Reports received.

EXTRACTS FROM PUBLIC PRESS

Fox read extract from the *International Journal*[208] approving the principles of the Association and urging its claims on the American workmen.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Dupont* read letter from Citizen Fribourg requesting a copy of the minutes in reference to the postponement of the Congress.

Citizen *Jung* undertook to translate the minutes and forward them to Paris.

Letter read from the *La Gironde*[209] showing that Citizen Bouzet was appealing to the men of that department to join the Association.

Citizen *Le Lubez* read extracts from the *Courrier Français*[210] containing sentiments which he considered too liberal to enable that paper to live long under the present French Government.

The publisher of *La Rive Gauche* having asked for information concerning the Association, Citizens Fox, Cremer and Jung were appointed to forward said information for publication in that journal.[211]

AMALGAMATED CARPENTERS

A suggestion for sending a circular to the members of the above was referred to the Standing Committee.

THE CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

It was resolved that the discussion of the above be commenced at the next sitting.

The Council then adjourned to June 5th.

Vice-President*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

June 5, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizen W. Harry proposed by *Cremer* and *Dutton*;
" F. Harvey proposed by Do Do;
" J. Jayet Do *Dupont* *Lafargue*.

NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCILMEN

Citizen M. Lawrence proposed by *Maurice* and *Lessner*;
Alex. Besson *Lafargue* and *Dupont*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Jung* said he had received a letter from Citizen L. D. Canessa in Genoa offering to insert anything in the*** concerning the International Working Men's Association.[212] That citizen was about to leave to go and fight for the liberation of Venice.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 136-37 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** A gap in the minutes.—*Ed.*

REPORTS FROM DEPUTATIONS

Citizens *Weston, Jung, Dupont* reported the adhesion of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers. They had promised to join not only in name but action.

Citizen *Dutton* reported from Bricklayers in Commercial Road; had been well received.

Jung reported what he had said to them: he had appealed to their sense of brotherhood with other peoples.

ADDRESS FROM FRENCH BRANCH IN LONDON

Citizen *Lafargue* then brought before the Council the address of the French branch in London in answer to the address of the French students to the students of Italy and Germany.[213]

The address Citizen *Lafargue* laid before the Council is addressed to the students of all nations by the International Working Men's Association in the name of the workmen of all nations.*

Citizen** proposed and Citizen *Dutton* seconded that it is opportune for the Central Council to issue an address.

Citizen *Weston* proposed as an amendment and Citizen *James Dutton* seconded that the Central Council endorses the sentiments expressed in the address but that it be issued by the French branch of London, with whom it originated.

A long discussion ensued on the proposition.

Citizen *Carter* spoke at some length appealing to the Council not [to] pass the resolution and in favour of the amendment. He said it would be a bad precedent to hurry through any address as emanating from the Council in the absence of a good number of its members.

Six voted for the amendment.

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* Here two leaves of paper with the minutes recorded in Le Lubez's hand are pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Name not given.—*Ed.*

Six for the proposition.

The President gave his casting vote in favour of the amendment.[214]

A request for settlement of claim was received from Citizen J. B. Leno.*

Referred to Standing Committee.

The Council then adjourned till June 11th.**

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING****

June 12, 1866

The *President***** in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizen Lawrence proposed by *Maurice* and *Lessner*;
Citizen Besson proposed by *Lafargue* and *Dupont.*

NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCILMEN

Pierre Leroux nominated by *Jung* and *Marx.*

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

Jung and *Dupont* reported an interview with West End Cabinet-Makers; had been well received, invited to attend again.

FUTURE DEPUTATIONS

Cremer and Lessner to visit French Polishers.

Yarrow suggested deputations to several societies whose names he mentioned.

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* The insert ends here.—*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 137-38 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** Odger.—*Ed.*

SHEFFIELD CONFERENCE

Fox proposed sending delegate there.[215] Carried unanimously.

Selection of man deferred.

CORRESPONDENCE

Lafargue read from *La Rive Gauche* a summary of doings of the Central Council.[216]

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from Leipsic which stated that all the Saxon working men's associations had joined the International.[217]

THE WAR IN GERMANY

The President suggested that at the present crisis the Council should discuss the question of the German war and its probable influence on the peoples of Europe.

Citizen *Eccarius* proposed that the question be debated at the next sitting. Carried unanimously.

The Council then adjourned till June 19th.

President *pro tem.**

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING***

June 19, 1866

Citizen *Weston* in the chair.

The debate on the war attracted a large concourse of members. It was ably opened by Citizen *Eccarius*, who illustrated his address with a map of Germany, made for

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in the form of a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 172, June 23, 1866, pasted onto p. 139 of the Minute Book. The heading and the first and last lines of the text are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

the occasion. He was followed by Citizens *Le Lubez, Fox, Lafargue, Marx,* who made an highly interesting[218] speech, *Carter, Dutton* and *Hales.* Speeches were made in French and English. The debate was adjourned until Tuesday evening next at the same hour, when the question of nationality will be treated of. Citizen *Le Lubez* gave notice that he will propose the following resolutions:

"(1) The Central Council of the International Association of Working Men recommend to their fellow working men in arms not to waste their strength in slaying each other, but to economise it for the defence of their rights against their only enemies, the enslavers of the working class. Their opinion is that no man need obey any power he has had no voice in electing, or any law he has had no voice in making. Therefore, (2) every soldier, who has not made the cause he is fighting for his own by being convinced that it is just, is relieved from his obligation to fight for it. (3) If that right should be denied him and that force be used to coerce him, he has a right, and *it is his duty* to defend that right, which is the right of the people, by using force himself."

Before the debate began, the *Courrier Français* of the 17th inst. was brought before the Council and the rejoinder of the students was read and given to the editor of the *Commonwealth* to translate and publish the same. For the previous correspondence see the *Commonwealth* of June 9.

TO THE WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES!—
THE YOUTH OF FRANCE

Brethren,—You have understood that war was a violation of the most sacred rights of humanity, and you have responded to our appeal. Thanks, a thousand thanks!

United for the noblest of causes, we shall continue to claim in common the rights for which humanity has ever combated; labour and universal peace will guide us in this path, the harmony of minds and hearts will recompense us for our efforts.

"The masters of the world" will in vain endeavour to revive the obsolete quarrels of the past, the traditional rivalries of nations. *Universal Reason* will respond to the appeals of the fife and drum by a prodigious cry of peace, by a warm grasp of all hands and all hearts.

We are pleased to have been understood by those upon whom we base all our hopes, we are proud to have contributed our small share to the advent of that bright day in which *all men*, united by science, will march with one accord to the final conquest of liberty.

Our forefathers, led astray and enslaved, had for their war-cry "God and our country!"

Let us, the great grandsons of 1793, have for supreme aim to inscribe on the *one only flag of the people* these two words, which are the symbols of our convictions and our hopes, "Reason and Fraternity!"

It is for you, working men, to realise in the future these vast projects—it is for you to cement the union of mankind by your labour, the firmness of your principles, and your inflexible devotion to the salvation of the human race.

Be assured that your brothers will not abandon you in the struggle.

(Signed): *Alfred Verlière*, clerk; *Raoul Rigault*, clerk; *Nestor Richet*, shawl cleaner; *Albert Kellermann*, shopman; *E. Lemoine*, student; *Dawsta*, law student; *Niemann*, sculptor; *Battaille*, clerk; *A. Breuillé*, employé; *A. Jeunesse*, student; *Louis Guyon*, employé; *Humbert*, employé; *Leon Sornet*, employé; *Paul Seruzier*, student; *C. Dacosta*, professor; *Tremblay*, merchant; *Léonce Levraud*, student; *H. Villeneuve*, student; *Bellet*, employé; *Lavallée*, student; *Landowski*, bookseller's clerk; *Brochure*, painter on glass; *Boula*, do; *Barthélemy*, *Julien*, *Wartelen*, *Bruno*, do, etc., etc.[219]

The Central Council has received the following letter for adhesion to the working men's response:

"Bedlington, June 13th, 1866

"Friends!—We, the undersigned men of this place, endorse every sentiment from the young students of Paris, and likewise the response of the men of all nations; and we hope and trust that the

time is not far distant, when every man will know his position in society as a man.

"Yours, in the cause of freedom.

"(Signed): *Thomas Hailstone, Alexander McLeod, David Graham, John Scott, Robert McDonald, David Lofthouse, George Steel, John Ramsay, Robert Fairbairn, James Cole,* of Bedlington, Northumberland.[220]"

The Council then adjourned.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL***

June 26, 1866

Citizen *Fox* in the chair.

Citizen *Marx* introduced to the Council Citizen Fontaine of Brussels. He also announced that Fribourg would publish week by week in the *Courrier Français* their elaboration of the questions to be submitted to Congress.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dupont read letters from Tolain and Fribourg announcing the seizure of the *Courrier Français*[221] and blaming the Council for postponing the Congress.

REPORT OF DEPUTATION

Jung reported West End Cabinet-Makers fully agreed with our principles and would join.

FRENCH REVOLUTION JUNE 1848

Lessner asked would the Council take part in celebrating the event. Question postponed.

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* Unsigned.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 140-42 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

ITALIAN SECRETARY

Citizen *Fox* read letter from Citizen Trani stating he had corresponded with several Italian societies but as yet had not received an answer. The present position of his country placed him in an awkward position. He also complained of an attack in *Rive Gauche* by Citizen Lafargue who had placed Mazzini and Garibaldi side by side with [Bismarck] and declaring them as bad as Bismarck. He believed Mazzini and Garibaldi were both good Socialists.[222] In consequence of such attack he must tender his resignation as Italian secretary.

Citizen *Lafargue* replied that what he had written he had written in his individual capacity, not as a member of the Central Council who were in no way responsible for his opinions.

Citizen *Fontaine* said he has expressed the same opinions only in a stronger manner.

After some discussion *Cremer* [proposed], *Dutton* seconded:

That we pass to the order of the day and that Citizen Trani be written to and told that the Council are not responsible for Citizen Lafargue's views. Carried unanimously.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE

The debate was resumed by Citizen *Bobczynski* who said that though Mazzini, Garibaldi and Bismarck were acting together, they were acting from different motives. If the Association was only to be social, it would never be great. Its first duty was to get rid of tyrants on the Continent.

Citizen *Jung* thought that although Garibaldi's heart was undoubtedly right, his head and sword were in the wrong place. He was sorry to see him and Mazzini in alliance with Bismarck. He thought the upshot of the war would be revolution.[223]

The debate was continued by Citizens *Bobczynski, Lafargue, Cremer, Fontaine.*

Citizen *Dutton* said that workmen of all countries could work out their political and social independence without fighting for nationalities.

Citizens *Bobczynski* and *Carter* then gave notice of the following resolution:*

That the London members of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between tyrants, and advise working men to be neutral, but to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in striking a final blow at all the tyrants of Europe and proclaiming their own liberty.**

Citizens *Cremer* and *Dutton* also gave notice of the following series of resolutions:***

1. That the war now being waged in Europe between the Prussian and Austrian governments is a war for Empire, and as such is not calculated to benefit the peoples, as whichever becomes the victor it will be but the substitution of one despot for another.

2. The Council regrets that the Prussian people should have allowed their energies to be diverted from the extension and consolidation of their liberties by the war policy of Bismarck who has thereby succeeded in rivetting still stronger their political fetters.

3. The Council also expresses a hope that the Italian people, while endeavouring to give liberty to the Venetians, will not enter into an unholy alliance with the Prussian Government, and so be guilty of moral and political suicide by at the same time fighting to rescue the Vene-

* Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 175, July 14, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

*** Here another clipping from the same issue of *The Commonwealth* is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

tians and assisting the Prussian Government to enslave the German people.

4. That as all wars not waged on behalf of liberty and justice are cruel and unjustifiable, we therefore recommend the peoples of Europe to abstain from taking any active part in the present unrighteous struggle.

Citizen *Fox* gave notice of the following resolution:

That the Prussian Government is responsible for the miseries caused by the present war on the Continent.[224]

The Council then adjourned to July 3rd.*

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING***

July 3, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN***

Cit. Ayers of No. 1 Lodge of the Operative Bricklayers, and Cit. F. Yarrow of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Association, were elected members of the Central Council, after having been nominated by their respective corporations.[225]

The declaration of adhesion of the Nottingham section of the Amalgamated Cordwainers' Society, representing 140 men, was read.

Cit. *Maurice* brought before the attention of the Council the following advertisement which appeared in the *Times* of the 6th ult.:

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* Unsigned. The last line is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on p. 143 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

*** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 175, July 14, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

"TO THE MASTER TAILORS
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

"Your attention is called to the present relations between the masters and journeymen tailors of the United Kingdom, and it is suggested that, in the interest of the trade generally, a conference be held in London, or elsewhere, in August, in which masters from every town in the kingdom may take part, and the present and future prospects of the labour question be thoroughly discussed, a more satisfactory arrangement among themselves arrived at, and a system adopted by which work may be efficiently carried on in case of strikes."

A letter from Mr. G. E. Harris was read, giving his adhesion to the response to the Paris students.*

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE ON THE GERMAN WAR**

An article was translated from the last number of the *Rive Gauche* as containing the sentiments of Cit. Lafargue, a member of the Council, on the attack of the King of Italy upon Venetia, and its reaction upon French politics.[226]

Cit. *Fox* gave notice of the following resolution:

"That the Prussian Government is responsible for the miseries caused by the present war on the Continent."

The debate was continued by.***

Cits. *Bobczynski, Cremer, Fox, Hales,* and *Eccarius* spoke and the debate was adjourned until Tuesday next.****

The Financial Secretary***** was instructed to pay to

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* The newspaper clipping ends here.—*Ed.*

** Here three small clippings from the same issue of the paper are pasted into the Minute Book.—Ed.

*** The words "the debate was continued by" are in Cremer's hand.—Ed.

**** The newspaper clipping ends here. Then come two strips of paper pasted into the Minute Book on which the continuation of the minutes is written in Fox's hand.—*Ed.*

***** Wheeler.—*Ed.*

the *Commonwealth* the first quarter's rent due for our present meeting-place.

Cit. *Lessner* proposed W. Massman as a member of the Council.*

The Council then adjourned to July 10th.**

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING****

July 10, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizen Massman proposed by *Lessner* and *Marx*.

CORRESPONDENCE

Jung read for Dupont correspondence from Fleurieux-sur-Saône near Lyons announcing the opening of a new branch there, also thanking the Central Council for the high mission they had undertaken.[227]

He also read a letter from Rouen expressing their regret at the delay which had taken place on their part. They were now making amends for the past and were working for the future.[228]

Letter from Lyons hoping the Council would not again postpone the Congress, also asking if the travelling expenses of the delegates who went around Lyons making propaganda could be taken out of their funds derived from the sale of members' cards.

The answer was provided by a former resolution of the Central Council.****

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* The insert ends here. The closing sentence is in Cremer's hand. —*Ed.*

** Unsigned.—*Ed.*

*** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 144-45 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

**** See p. 189 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

QUESTION OF CONGRESS

Citizen *Cremer* introduced the question asking the Central Council if they would take active steps to ensure the success of the Congress.

Citizens *Carter* and *Fox* proposed: That not less than 4 delegates be sent to Geneva from the Central Council. Carried unanimously.[229]

It was further agreed to retain the services of one man during the day-time to make active propaganda. Citizen Cremer was elected for that purpose.

Citizens *Lawrence* and *Burry* proposed: That the members of the Central Council belonging to the various trades hold themselves in readiness to assist the General Secretary.* Carried.

REPRESENTATION IN THE PRESS

Citizen *Marx* asked Citizen Fox how it was that no report of the Council's doings had appeared in the last number of the *Commonwealth*.

Citizen *Fox* entered into a long explanation, and a discussion took place taken part in by Citizens *Dell, Weston, Cremer* and others. Eventually Citizens *Bobczynski* and *Yarrow* proposed that for the future we do not confine our reports to any journal but send them wherever they are likely to be inserted. Carried unanimously.[230]

THE SHEFFIELD CONFERENCE

Cremer proposed that Citizen Odger and in the event of the tailors sending a delegate to the conference that they be appointed to represent the Association at the conference. Carried unanimously.[231]

The Council then adjourned to July 17th.

JOHN WESTON, President *pro tem.*

* Cremer.—*Ed.*

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

July 17, 1866

Citizen *Weston* in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Citizen *Howell* complained of that part of the previous minutes which he said reflected on him.

The reflection having been denied, Citizen *Cremer* said it was he that had made the statements which Citizen Howell complained of and what he had said he was prepared to stand by.

The *Chairman* having ruled that the discussion was out of order, the affair [was] dropped.

THE SECRETARY FOR BELGIUM

Citizen *Lafargue* reported that Citizen Longuet having gone to Paris, had unfortunately been arrested and committed for eight months.[232]

Citizen *Le Lubez* also announced[233] that Citizen Vésinier had been arrested in Belgium.**

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

Cits. *Cremer* and *Jung* reported the result of their visit to the Hand-in-Hand Society of Coopers, the members of which had convened a special meeting to receive them. After listening for some time with a deep interest to the deputation many of the members spoke warmly in support of the principles of the Association, and as an earnest of their deep convictions they agreed to join in a body and levied each member one shilling towards defraying the

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 146-47 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 176, July 21, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

expenses of the Geneva Congress. The *General Secretary** also reported that the West End Cabinet-Makers had sent in their adhesion to the Association, and asked to be admitted as an affiliated branch. A resolution for their admission was unanimously agreed to.

FRANCE

Cit. *Dupont*, French secretary, read a letter from Neuville-sur-Saône near Lyons, asking permission to open a branch there. The Secretary thanked the Council for the high mission they had undertaken. The request was agreed to, and Cits. Louis Baudrand, E. Benière** and T. M. Colomb were appointed correspondents of the Association for that locality.[234] A letter was also read from Lyons asking for information in regard to malleable castings. The Secretary was instructed to make some enquiries.

THE TREATMENT OF THE IRISH STATE PRISONERS AT PORTLAND

Cit. *Fox* stated that before the expiration of the six months' term the Irish state prisoners lately confined in Pentonville prison were removed to Portland jail, where alone their friends were allowed to visit them. He then read the following extract from a letter received from the wife of one of the said prisoners. This lady states the conditions under which these prisoners may be seen by their female relatives and the crushing treatment to which they are subjected—treatment to which one of their number has already fallen a victim.

"Mrs. Luley*** and O'Leary's sisters have been to Portland. They were much disappointed in having to see the prisoners through wire screens. It seems to me that the English Government must

* Cremer.—*Ed.*

** E. Benière's name is inserted in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

*** A misprint. Here and elsewhere should read: Luby.—*Ed.*

have an exalted opinion of the ingenuity and cleverness of Irishwomen, when even with all the safekeeping that bars and bolts and jailors can insure, it will not trust a prisoner's wife to touch that prisoner's hand or even see his face unscreened; or is such precaution used as a refinement of cruelty, which it certainly is, whether intended to be or not. Here are a few facts as to their treatment given by Luley and O'Leary. At labour from five a.m. to eight p.m., breakfast of cocoa and heavy unpalatable bread, supper of thin gruel half enough at each meal. Dinner, two days five ounces meat, five potatoes and bread; two next days, a pint of something called soup, and bread; two days again, they dine on suet pudding and on Sunday they have bread and cheese. They have no chaplain. Their labour is quarrying, washing the convicts' clothes, and scrubbing; by turns. It is easy to understand that many of these men will sink under such treatment combined with all the petty tyranny practised on them by the more brutal of their jailors, and without the consolation of either letters or visits from their friends. Luley and O'Leary wished this put before the public. I have not seen my husband, I will go to see him in a few weeks, and I know he too will wish this course the government takes with state prisoners to be published.

"*Mrs. J. O'Donovan Rossa.*"

The Central Council by a unanimous vote ordered that the extract should be as widely published as possible.*

THE EUROPEAN WAR

Citizen *Fox* translated from the *Courrier Français* a letter signed by Fribourg[235] in relation to the war and the social question.**

THE DISCUSSION ON THE WAR

was then resumed. Cits. *Dutton, Bobczynski* and *Marx* were the principal speakers. Cits. *Cremer* and *Fox* withdrew their respective amendments, and the wording of

* The newspaper clipping ends here. The sentence that follows is written in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 176, July 21, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

the Bobczynski-Carter resolution* was amended and ultimately passed, *nem. con.*, in the following form:

"That the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association consider the present conflict on the Continent to be one between Governments and advise working men to be neutral, and to associate themselves with a view to acquire strength by unity and to use the strength so acquired in working out their social and political emancipation."[236]

THE CONGRESS PROGRAMME

It was then agreed that** at the next and subsequent meetings of the Council the questions to be submitted to the Geneva Congress should*** be discussed and elaborated.

The questions to be discussed on Tuesday next are as follows: Organisation of the Association; Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between capital and labour.****

The Council then adjourned to July 24th.

JAMES BURRY

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL*****

July 24, 1866

Citizen *Burry* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

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* See p. 205 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The words "It was then agreed that" are inserted in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

*** The word "should" is also in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

**** The newspaper clipping ends here. The closing sentence is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

***** The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 147-49 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

NOMINATIONS FOR COUNCILMEN

Citizen W. Stockey. Nominated by *Yarrow* and *Jung.*

Citizen W. Colonieu. Nominated by *Dupont* and *Combault.*

Citizen Le Maître. Nominated by *Lafargue* and *Marx.*

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

Citizen *Burry* reported that the coachmakers had not met; they would meet next month August 8.

Citizen *Jung* reported the result of visit to packing-case makers; they wished for a deputation at their delegate meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Jung* read correspondence respecting the manufacture of tulle by which it was ascertained that the English operatives received higher wages than the Lyons operatives.

Citizen *Dupont* read a letter from [Neuville]-sur-Saône thanking the Council for cards of membership and asking for credentials for the correspondents. Ordered to be sent.

Jung read a letter from Geneva which stated they had elected a committee to make arrangements for the reception of the delegates who would attend the Congress. They also wished to know in what manner the questions were to be proposed and discussed at the Congress. They thought the Central Council ought to appoint a member to bring forward questions and formally propose them. Also that reports of proceedings should be taken and printed in three languages and distributed amongst all the sections of the Association. They also hoped the Central Council would communicate to all the branches the assembling of Congress and the questions to be submitted.[237]

Ordered that the recommendation should be submitted and discussed by the Standing Committee for report to the Central Council.

QUESTION OF ITALIAN REPRESENTATION

Cremer and *Marx* proposed:

That the Secretary and any member of the Central Council take whatever steps they may deem advisable to get Italian societies represented at the Congress. Carried unanimously.

Also ordered that Citizen Jung write to the Geneva Administration urging them to exert themselves to the same effect.[238]

Citizen *Lubez* gave reasons why the Italians in London abstained from returning to the Council.

THE ORDER OF THE DAY

was then discussed, led off by *Cremer* who proposed as recommendation to Congress that the Central Council should sit in London. Seconded by *Marx*. Carried unanimously.[239]

The next question discussed was ways and means.

Cremer proposed for discussion:

"That corporate bodies joining the Association should contribute one halfpenny for member for year to the Central Council for the purposes of propaganda and administration expenses."

A long discussion ensued on the question, taken part in by Citizens *Marx, Jung, Lafargue, Dutton, Yarrow,* and others, and ultimately it was decided to adjourn the question till the next meeting.

Several deputations were then appointed to wait on societies and the Council then adjourned to July 31st.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

July 31, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizen Stockey proposed by *Yarrow* and *Jung*.

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS**

Citizen *Lawrence* gave Citizen Burry's report of his visit to silver spoonmakers. They agreed to the terms of ½ d. per member and promised to recommend the whole of the trade to join. Citizen Lawrence stated the Tailors' Executive would recommend to their members whatever was agreed on by the Central Council or the Congress.

The *Secretary**** reported that the Engineers' Council had received a deputation and after listening to the**** deputation and discussing their views had promised to communicate the result of their deliberations.

The compositors had also received the deputation and appeared heartily to endorse their views.

Citizen *Le Lubez* reported that the carpenters' meeting at the Silver Cup had well received the deputation and voted one pound towards the expenses of the Congress promising to consider the propriety of joining the Association.[240]

Citizen *Eccarius* reported that the Tailors' Committee had issued an appeal to the journeymen urging them to elect a delegate to the Geneva Congress.

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* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 149-52 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here a strip of paper with a new text in Cremer's hand is pasted over part of the original minutes.—*Ed.*

*** Cremer.—*Ed.*

**** The insert ends here.—Ed.

THE ATLANTIC CABLE

Citizen *Fox* referring to the laying of the above, said it was an event too important for the International Working Men's Association to pass silently by. He would therefore propose the following:

That the Central Council hails the successful laying of the telegraph cable between Ireland and Newfoundland as a grand triumph of science and perseverance over formidable physical difficulties and as adding facilities to the intercourse between the cisatlantic and transatlantic members of the European family and this Council further hopes that the present cable is only the precursor of many others.[241]

Citizen *Dell* in seconding the resolution said the peoples had nothing to gain by isolation and secrecy but everything to hope for from increased communication with each other.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

Citizen *Marx* brought up the report of the Committee on the questions to be submitted to Congress:

1. They recommend the order as published in the French programme with the single amendment that the last question be amalgamated with the first.

Fox and *Carter* proposed that the report on this point be adopted. Carried unanimously.[242]

2. That the Secretary be instructed to make out a report of the number of members and a general statement of income and expenditure. Carried unanimously.

3. They recommend the Congress to make an enquiry into the condition of the working classes according to the following schedule of enquiries:

1) Occupation, name of.
2) Age and sex of the employed.

3) Number of the employed.

4) Hiring and wages. A. Apprentices. B. Wages, day or piece work. Whether paid by middlemen, etc. Weekly, yearly average earnings.

5) Hours of labour. In factories. Hours of small employers and home work if the business carried on in those modes. Nightwork, daywork.

6) Meal times and treatment.

7) State of place and work, overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight, etc., cleanliness, etc.

8) Nature of the occupation.

9) Effect of employment upon the physical condition.

10) Moral condition. Education.

11) State of trade, whether season trade or more or less uniformly distributed over year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined principally for home or foreign consumption, etc.

The recommendation was unanimously agreed to.[243]

CONTRIBUTIONS

Citizen *Marx* then reported that a yearly contribution of ½ [d.] per member be paid by societies joining, cost price of cards or *livrets* to be charged extra. The Secretary to have power to negotiate with poor societies on easier terms. The recommendation carried unanimously.

The Committee recommend that the Council advise members to found benefit societies and to organise an international exchange between benefit societies.

A debate arose on this point. The recommendation was amended so as to require that the Swiss members take the initiative at the Congress on this question.

The resolution in its amended form was carried unanimously.

That the local committees keep reports of the state of

trade in their districts and act as intelligence officers for working men.

The Council then adjourned.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice-President

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

August 7, 1866

Vice-President *Eccarius* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

The *General Secretary* reported that the London Society of Compositors had elected their secretary Mr. Sely[244] as a delegate to the Geneva Congress. Mr. *Cremer* also read a letter from the General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers** stating their Council declined to send a delegate or to give permission for deputation to visit their branches. He also reported that the Bookbinders (day-working) had agreed to join the Association. The Vellum-binders had adjourned the question till their next general meeting.

Jung reported that the Brushmakers had also deferred the question to their next meeting.

Le Lubez reported that the Chairmakers and Carvers had also deferred the question till they had a larger attendance.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Marx* read a letter from Belgium asking information in regard to the Congress.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 152-54 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Allan.—*Ed.*

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

Citizen *Marx* reported that at the last sitting of the Committee only himself, Citizens Jung and Dupont were present. He requested the attendance of the British members at the next sitting.

THE SHEFFIELD CONFERENCE

The President reported that a resolution had been passed thereat urging all trade societies to join the International Association.[245]

TRANSATLANTIC POSTAGE

Citizen *Fox* brought forward this subject and stated some facts to show the exorbitant rate of letter postage between Britain and the United States. He said that the British rule governed the Continental rates and he advised that after the Geneva Congress the Central Council should send a deputation to the postmaster general to ask him to concur in the American proposition for a sixpenny letter rate. The subject [was] then dropped.

Fox stated that the *Vorbote* was publishing Memoranda of the discussions of the Geneva branches on the Congress programme.[246]

The Council then adjourned.

H. JUNG, President *pro tem.*

*CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING**

August 14, 1866

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 154-57 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

The *Secretary* reported his visit to the Coachmakers with the result as expressed in the following letter:*

29, South Street, Manchester Square, W.,
Aug. 8, 1866

Sir,—The result of your attendance on the Coachmakers' Friendly Society, Berwick Street, tonight has been that we have appointed ten delegates to wait upon the ten Societies in connection with our trade, to lay before each Society your circular and explain it to them, taking your own lucid statement as our "model". I have been desired by the sub-committee (the ten) to request you to forward twenty-four circulars, Addresses, and Rules, so that we may forward a copy to each of those Societies and so that each of us may have a copy to "read up" in before we wait upon them; our object is to endeavour to get each to act, as we intend to try and make our Society act in unity with you. I suppose you will receive a note from our secretary (Mr. Todd), explaining that your circular and explanations cannot be brought before our Society, until its general meeting in January, when we intend that the International Working Men's Society's claims shall have the preference to all other business, and, if in the meantime, the other Societies can be urged to do likewise, the time will not have been altogether wasted. I hope to come amongst you as a united body.

Wishing you every success in your (our) undertaking, allow me to subscribe myself, your well-wisher, and hope to be your obedient servant.

Edward Reaveley,

For the committee of ten appointed by the London Coachmakers' Friendly Society, to forward the objects of the International Working Men's Association.

To Mr. Cremer,
18, Bouverie Street, E.C.**

The *Secretary* also stated that the Packing-Casemakers had joined the Association and would collect subscriptions

* Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 180, August 18, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here. The continuation of the minutes is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

among their members for the Geneva Congress. They were too poor to vote money from their funds.

Citizen *Jung* reported that the Plumber Brass Finishers had given them word to join the Association but had formally deferred their decision till their next meeting.

Messrs. *Reynolds* and *Long* for the Hand-in-Hand Coopers handed in six pounds as the contribution of that body to the expenses of the Geneva Congress.

Cremer and *Yarrow* proposed: That the above body of coopers be admitted as an affiliated branch of the Association. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Yarrow* stated the Alliance Cabinet-Makers would hold a general meeting on Thursday next and the question of the Geneva Congress would then be discussed.

Citizens *Jung* and *Cremer* promised to attend.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Dell* read a letter from the Secretary of Operative Bricklayers' Society stating they could not pay their contribution as the accounts had not been audited.

The *General Secretary* stated that it was not his province to prepare balance-sheets, although he had done so months ago and Mr. Coulson had been appointed auditor but had never attended. If there was any neglect or delay it was with those who had been appointed auditors but had not performed their duty. Such complaints came with a bad grace from Mr. Coulson.[247]

AUDITORS

Citizens Weston and Buckley were appointed to audit the accounts on Friday next at half past six.

SECRETARY SALARY

Cremer stated there were some arrears owing to him and asked that it should be paid or that he should be relieved from his appointment as a paid officer.

Carter and *Fox* proposed that 25s. be paid Secretary. Carried unanimously.

CORRESPONDENCE

Citizen *Fox* read a letter from Lyons of which the following is a translation:*

LYONS WORKMEN, THE WAR AND THE BRITISH REFORM MOVEMENT

The Lyons correspondent of the International Working Men's Association writes to the Central Council of this Association as follows:

"Lyons, August 9, 1866

"In respect to the war, opinions are unsettled. However working men are beginning to throw off that narrow patriotism which made them embrace the quarrels of potentates and edged them in to sacrifice themselves for the interests of the former. All are beginning to see that their interests and ours are not identical, and that all working men have a common interest, and that their greatest enemies are the parasites of their own nation.

"We received some numbers of the *Courrier Français*, and we liked well the ideas it propagated.

"Our enemies found a pretext for annihilating it, but they could not annihilate the ideas it represented.

"We live in hopes that other journals will resume the work it left unfinished. The arbitrary rule which governs us does not wish the truth to penetrate into the provinces. We beg the English working classes to persevere in the attitude which they have recently assumed; let them show themselves determined and courageous, let them confront all menaces and they will obtain that reform which is the first step towards social amelioration.

* Then follows a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 180, August 18, 1866.—*Ed.*

"You will oblige us by giving us some details concerning what has taken place in London, and indicating to us clearly the spirit which animates this movement, for the journals suppress the essential part of it.

"I cordially salute you,

"Ad. Schettel".*

Citizen *Fox* also read letters from Bordeaux and Vienne (Isère). The latter asked for 130 cards of membership, also that the following should be appointed correspondents for that department: Citizens *Ailloux, Waguenay* and *Marcheval.*

Citizens *Dupont* and *Le Lubez* proposed their election. Carried unanimously.

ELECTION OF COUNCILMEN

Citizen *Lafargue* proposed Citizen Le Maître as a member of Central Council.

A discussion took place on the proposition, his election having been on a former occasion opposed by 5 of his workmen.

Citizens *Marx* and *Lubez* proposed that an official letter be sent to the five men and the election postponed.

Citizens *Hales* and *Yarrow* proposed that they be written to to come before Standing Committee at 8 o'clock. Carried unanimously.

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

Citizen *Marx* gave report. They suggested that the General Secretary be paid 40s. per week and to be appointed by the Geneva Congress itself.

A discussion took place on the proposition which was opposed by Citizen *Dell* who preferred a graduated scale of payment.

* The newspaper clipping ends here. The continuation of the minutes is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

An amendment was proposed to the effect that 30s. be the rate of payment, but the amendment was withdrawn and the resolution was carried unanimously.[248]

Citizen *Dell* read a letter he had written in reply to Mr. Coulson. The letter was endorsed by the Council and ordered to be sent.

THE TAILORS AND THE GENEVA CONGRESS

Citizen *Eccarius* reported that the Tailors had that night decided to send a delegate to the Geneva Congress. The resolution had been carried with enthusiasm.[249]

The Council then adjourned.

GEO ODGER, President

*MEETING OF CENTRAL COUNCIL**

August 21, 1866

President *Odger* in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.**

The first business was the

REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

Cit. *Jung* reported that he had waited on the Cigar Makers' Committee, who had convened a general meeting of the members to receive a deputation from the Council. He had also waited on the Scale Makers, and had arranged to visit them a second time. He further reported visits to the Tin Plate Workers and Curriers, both committees

* The minutes are in Cremer's hand on pp. 157-58 of the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 181, August 25, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

courteously received him and promised to bring the question before the next general meeting.

The General Secretary, Cit. *Cremer*, reported that himself, Citizens Lessner, Haufe, Massman, and Yarrow, had waited on the Organ Builders and Upholsterers, and had been requested to attend their next general meetings. The Secretary also stated that the Alliance Cabinet-Makers had at a general meeting recommended a levy of 6d. per member towards the expenses of the Geneva Congress.

Citizens *Weston* and *Hales* reported that they had waited on the Brass Finishers, and discussed with the members the principles of the Association. They had been invited to attend again.

Cit. *Le Lubez* reported his visit to the Stove Makers. They had urged him to attend their general meeting.

THE GENEVA CONGRESS

Some further arrangements, in connection with the above, were then made, when the Council proceeded to discuss the report of the disturbances between the English and Belgian excavators at Eastbourne. The General Secretary was ordered to get all the information possible on the matter, if necessary to take action, and to report at the next sitting of the Council.[250]

THE MANCHESTER TAILORS' LOCKOUT

Cits. *Lessner* and *Lawrence* reported that 700 tailors were locked out in Manchester, and fearing their late employers might try to get men from the Continent, they invoked the assistance of the International Working Men's Association on their behalf. As some doubts were expressed in relation to the continuance of the lockout, it was agreed to suspend any Continental action until the arrival of confirmatory intelligence from Manchester; but in case of danger, the Secretary was to act immediately.[251]

INTERNATIONAL POSTAL RATES

The following resolution was then proposed by Citizens *Cremer* and *Lessner*: "That the delegates at the Geneva Congress be requested to urge on their respective governments the necessity and advantages of a system of International and Ocean Penny Postage." In proposing the resolution Cit. *Cremer* said that the realisation of such a project would greatly facilitate the efforts of the Association in bringing into fraternal intercourse the workmen of the world. At present the postal rates were so high as to preclude the possibility of frequent communication. The resolution was carried unanimously.[252]

REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

Cit. *Jung* brought up the report, which* report contained a proposition to be submitted to Congress, recommending:

That 9 hours per day including 1 hour per day for mealtimes be the standard day's work.

As an amendment *Cremer* proposed and *Lawrence* seconded:

That 8 hours be recommended as the standard for daily labour. The amendment was carried unanimously.[253]

After some further discussion in reference to that part of the report which contained recommendation as to the employment of women and children, the further consideration of the report was deferred till the next sitting.**

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* The newspaper clipping ends here. The text that follows is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** Here a clipping from *The Commonwealth*, No. 181, August 25, 1866, is pasted into the Minute Book.—*Ed.*

The Council then adjourned till Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock, then to* meet for the purpose of discussing and finally deciding on the Congress' programme, and to elect the delegates from the Central Council.**

The Secretary was ordered to summon all the members.

J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, Vice-President[254]

* The words "then to" are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** The newspaper clipping ends here. The last sentence is in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

THE LONDON CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[255]

September 25-29, 1865

*MEETING OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE WITH THE CONTINENTAL DELEGATES**

September 25

Present from the Standing Committee: Citizens Jung, Marx, Dell, Weston, Howell, Bobczynski, Vice-President Eccarius and the Honorary General Secretary.** From Paris: Citizens Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin, Schily, Varlin, Clarion and Dumesnil-Marigny; Switzerland: Citizens Dupleix and Becker; Belgium: César De Paepe.[256]

The meeting having waited till a quarter past 3 for the arrival of the President*** and he being still absent, Citizen *Jung* was voted to the chair. He began by stating that the first business was the financial position of the Association.

The *General Secretary* stated that the accounts of the Association had been audited up to March last and at that time the accounts stood as follows:

Income	Expenditure	Balance****

* The minutes, written on seven pages, are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

** Cremer.—*Ed.*

*** Odger.—*Ed.*

**** A gap in the manuscript. Judging from the Minute Book, the General Council's assets on March 28 stood at £6 3s. 8½d. (see p. 89 of the present volume).—*Ed.*

Since that period there had been no audit but there would be another at the end of this month and then the balance-sheet would be sent to the different branches. Probably up to the present time the income of the Association was about £32 or £33.

Citizen *Fribourg* gave account of financial position in Paris. The Administration had disposed of a large number of cards but as they had been compelled to keep up a central office and had been put to great expense by the travelling of the delegates, etc., there was little or no balance to hand over to the Central Council. Still the prospects were hopeful as the chief expenses had been defrayed and the future contributions would be chiefly clear income to be handed over to the Central Council. They still had about 400 cards of membership undisposed of. A great drawback to their progress had been the postponement of the Congress, also that many of the workmen were doubtful if anything could be done under the present regime. They were constantly met with the statement: show us you can act and we will join you. Citizen Fribourg wished the English particularly to understand their difficulties: they could only meet in small numbers of not more than 20; if more met, they were liable to be arrested. A short time ago they had a meeting of 60 and they had the greatest difficulty to keep them together from 8 till 10 o'clock: they kept looking at the door expecting to see the police enter to arrest them. He mentioned this to show the difficulties they had to contend with. The books and accounts of the Paris Administration they had brought with them and they invited the Treasurer to inspect them.

Citizen *Tolain* stated they had enrolled members in Rouen, Nantes, Elbeuf, Caen, Lisieux, St. Denis, Pantin and Puteaux, but in all those places their progress had been hindered by the postponement of the Congress.

Citizen *Schily* said they had a great advantage in Switzerland where they met and contributed monthly, while

in France they had to get together as best they could and collect the funds in the same manner.

Citizens *Cremer* and *Marx* proposed:

That Citizens Dell, Jung and Dupont go over the Paris accounts and report to the next meeting of the Standing Committee. Carried unanimously.

Citizen *Dupleix* reports of doings in Switzerland. They had been formed but 6 months,[257] but had been successful. The contributions at present were 5d. per month, but the members were willing to pay if necessary 1s. per month. They would have had a good surplus to pay over to the Central Council but for the expenses of the delegates travelling. They had enrolled in Geneva 250 men, in Lausanne 150, Vevey 150. The men were quite impressed with the necessity for contributing to the Central Council and were even willing to dissolve their own organisations and to belong alone to the International Working Men's Association.

Citizen *Schily* called attention to the necessity for facilities being provided whereby the workmen of different countries in removing their domicile would receive assistance and also that the secretaries in different places should be able to assist workmen, members of the Association, to obtain employment.

Citizen *De Paepe* gave report of doings in Belgium. They had been constituted but 1 month, but had already 60 members[258] who had agreed to pay not less than 3 francs or 2s. 8d. per year and out of that they will contribute 1s. per year to the Central Council. They had but 24s. subscribed when the question came before them of electing a delegate, but even with their small organisation and limited means they had elected him to come to the Conference.

Citizen *Fribourg* objected to the Belgium proposition as to a fixed contribution of 1s. per member to the Central Council. He thought some years there might be large con-

tribution, in fact a plethora, and in other years there would be a dearth; that when the funds were large they would be used locally.

Citizen *Marx* replied that the Congress would decide year by year as to the disposal of funds.

Citizen *Tolain* said that in Switzerland and Belgium they could meet openly, discuss any question and openly enroll members, but in France they could only meet by stealth and had no means of openly propagating the principles of the Association and therefore could not reach or inspire with confidence those to whom they were personally unknown.

This concluded the report of the financial position.

The question of ways and means was then discussed.

Citizen *Becker*, representing the German section in Switzerland, proposed, Citizen *Schily* seconded, that a medal should be struck commemorative of the meeting of the Conference. Such medals could be struck off for about 1d. and could be sold for say 6d., which would leave a good margin of profit for the Association and help to pay its expenses and be a means of propagandism.

Fribourg thought it better that an approximate estimate should be formed as to the probable expenses of the Central Council up to the period of the Congress, also the expenses of the Congress, and that an attempt should be made to raise the money through the members.

Cremer agreed with Fribourg and thought if they stated what the amount was likely to be and then issue collecting cards for subscriptions of 1d. then by that means they might raise the amount. He did not think the assembling of the Conference was of sufficient importance to impress the masses with a wish to commemorate it. He thought the question of striking off a medal should be left till the Congress, when the Association would be more known and when it should have done something worth commemorating. He thought the medal a premature question, and

as it was by collecting pence that the religious bodies raised the greater part of the money for propagandism, he thought that in this instance we might with benefit borrow their plan of action. There were hundreds who would give one penny but would not give a shilling. He had no doubt as to their being able to raise the necessary amount if they went earnestly to work.

Limousin supported Fribourg's view.

The proposition for a medal was also supported by *Dell* and *Weston* who said that it had been done with success in Robert Owen's movement.

Bobczynski supported the issue of a medal but would have different qualities and prices: to those who should subscribe liberally to the Association and become life-members, he would charge 2s. 6d. so that they might wear it on public occasions.

Eccarius opposed the issue of a medal and said as we were about to engage in a battle we had better wait and see if we had a victory to commemorate.

Marx was against fixing any amount as proposed by Fribourg.

Howell opposed the medal; he thought it would be unsuccessful.

Finally the following resolution was agreed to on the propositions of Citizens *Marx* and *Dupont*:

That the propositions of the Belgian delegate to send 1s. per member per annum, the Swiss—a fixed amount, the French—the main proceeds of the sale of cards (including the 400 they have in hand) to the Central Council, be accepted and that the further consideration of the financial position be adjourned till after the soirée. Carried unanimously.

The meeting then adjourned till to-morrow at 2 o'clock.[259]

*SITTING OF THE CONFERENCE**

Monday, September 25, 1865

The Sub-Committee having sat with the delegates till half past 5, the members were not present in large numbers until near 8 o'clock, when the proceedings commenced under the presidency of Citizen *Odger*, Citizen *Jung* being elected vice-chairman to interpret and translate.

Citizen *Odger* rose and addressed the meeting. He said there [were] present representatives of France, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, Poland and Spain. He said that the English workmen were seeking for the franchise and it was difficult to make them think of anything else—thence the slowness with which the Association has progressed in England. When we have shown to the English people that we are doing some work, they will have confidence in us and join the Association, but they have been so often deceived that they are slow in giving their confidence. He then declared the Conference duly open.

A proposition was put and carried unanimously that the meetings of the Conference take place at 8 o'clock.

Citizen *Cremer* addressed the meeting on the position of the trade societies in England. People on the Continent may think them very rich and able to contribute to a cause which is their own, but they are tied down by petty rules which confine them to very narrow limits. They are difficult to move and, but for a few men that are among them, they are not worth anything for what they may do for their own emancipation or that of their fellow-men. They know nothing of politics and they are difficult to be made to understand that there is such a science. However, there was a beginning of progress. A few years ago, delegates

* The minutes, written on five pages, are in Le Lubez's hand —Ed.

from our Association would not have been allowed a hearing; now we are well received, listened to and our principles unanimously approved of. That is the first time that an association having anything to do with politics was accepted by the trade unions.

Citizen *Fribourg*, French delegate, said that the Association had been well received in France; 1,200 cards of membership had been taken in Paris, though they could not meet, but they act individually and they hope the Association will acquire a great extension.

Citizen *Dupont* read the following letter from Lyons. Also a letter from Citizen Talbot, of Caen, who approves of the intervention in favour of Poland but especially insists on curtailing the power of Russia. He shudders at the idea that by rail it only requires 47 hours to come from St. Petersburg to Strasburg.

Citizen *Tolain*, from Paris, spoke of the state of societies in Paris. He said that whereas in '48 the political events urged the people on to move and to act, now, events are against action, but action takes place notwithstanding and even against the force of events. The social questions are being studied and elaborated. People, he said, undergo two phases: the political and the social. They are perfecting the latter.

Citizen *Dupleix*, from the French part of Switzerland. He said the branch began with 60 members; it now numbers 400. They feel that the time has come when workmen must work their own emancipation by their own exertions. At Geneva, they have made an appeal to the benefit societies.[260] Three societies have already joined. He related that at Montreux an act of reparation had been done by the influence of the Association.[261]

Herr *Becker*, the representative from the German part of Switzerland, said that in Geneva alone 1,500 had already joined. Benefit societies started last summer and were organising themselves into an union of societies, but hear-

ing of the International Association, they took that as their connecting link.[262]

His speech was full of warmth and eloquence and much applauded by those who understood the German language.

Citizen *César De Paepe*, delegate from Belgium, related a history of the various associations. Two years ago, an international association was formed, but it had too much of the middle class element in it. It broke up. Now, there are three kinds of parties in Belgium: the Revolutionists who simply want to upset the existing state of things; the Socialists who make a study of the miseries of the people, their causes and the means of bringing a remedy to them; then, some other societies, very like the trade unions in England who limit their aspirations to being ready to strike for a few half-pence.

Then there are a large number of societies of free-thinkers whose sole mission seems to be to oppose the clergy. He, the worthy delegate, said that he looked on co-operation as only a partial remedy. Then, there was the Credit-Mutual. But he looked upon landed property as the question to be taken in hand. As it stood, pauperism must go on increasing according to a law now known "that pauperism increased in the same ratio as wealth"! Land, like air, belonged to all. Its fruits must belong to those who cause them to be produced—but land itself must not belong to anyone.

CONTINUATION OF MONDAY'S CONFERENCE

The question of the newspaper was then discussed.[263]

Citizen *Vésinier* said that the newspaper ought to appear once a month in a double number—the extra part being published in three languages and reporting the doings of the Association.

Citizen *Schily* said that the *Workman's Advocate* should have a sub-title as the organ of the Association.

Citizens *Marx, Bolleter, Le Lubez* and others took part in the discussion after which Citizen *Becker* proposed and *Le Lubez* seconded that the *Workman's Advocate* be recognised as the organ of the Association.

On the question of foreign correspondence it was decided that foreign correspondence sent by delegates should be received for our newspaper, compiled by a commission and published.[264]

The foreign delegates took the engagement to send correspondence.

*MEETING OF STANDING COMMITTEE WITH CONTINENTAL DELEGATES**

September 26

Citizen *Jung* in the chair.

Present from the Standing Committee: Eccarius, Marx, Weston, Cremer, Howell and Jung. The whole of the Continental delegates were present.

The question of finance was again discussed.

Cremer proposed, *Howell* seconded:

That we recommend to the Conference to pledge itself in the name of the Association to raise £150 for the purpose of propagandism and the expenses of the Congress, and that it be left to this body to apportion the respective amounts to be raised by the different nationalities. Carried unanimously.

The question of a general congress was next discussed.

Marx in the name of the Central Council proposed that the Congress assemble in Geneva.

Dupleix seconded the proposition.

Fribourg wished it recorded that the French delegates

* The minutes, written on three pages, are in Cremer's hand.—*Ed.*

had received instructions to propose Geneva instead of, as heretofore decided, Belgium as a protest against the law passed in Belgium with regard to foreigners.[265] The resolution was carried unanimously.

De Paepe proposed, *Tolain* seconded, that the following be submitted to the Conference this evening:

That the Conference transfer the place of meeting of the Congress from Belgium to Geneva as a solemn protest against the law concerning foreigners passed in Belgium. Carried unanimously.

The period for the assembling of the Congress was next discussed.

Marx and *Cremer* in the name of the Central Council proposed that it take place in September or October of next year, unless unforeseen circumstances shall occur to necessitate its further postponement.

The *delegates from Paris* as an amendment proposed that the Congress assemble on the first Sunday in April next year. They all declared that to longer postpone the Congress would be fatal to the Association in France, and *Tolain* opposed any discretionary power being given to the Central Council on the question.

Schily thought the French delegates exaggerated the urgency for the Congress.

De Paepe said that if the Congress was held too soon they could not send delegates from Belgium; they were now in debt and it would take them some time to recover themselves. He supported the resolution.

The *French delegates* were willing to give a little further time; they would agree to the month of May.

Marx was impressed by the statements of the French delegates and was inclined to withdraw the resolution.

Cremer thought we had not made propagandism in Germany,[266] Spain, Italy and that our efforts should be exerted in that direction as a congress of the working men of

Europe would be incomplete without representatives from those nationalities.

Schily thought the Paris Administration were putting the knife to the throat of the Association and if they were not very careful they would kill it.

Limousin said the present regime caused the workmen to distrust each other and thereby increased their difficulties.

Jung said French delegates must take all the responsibility on themselves if the Congress was a failure; he would suggest June instead of May as the spring was late in Switzerland.

The French delegates would so far yield as to agree to the last week in May.

Marx having withdrawn his proposition for September, the amendment became the resolution and was unanimously agreed to.[267]

The following were then appointed to speak at the soirée: Tolain, Dupleix, Becker, Bobczynski and Jones.[268]

The next question discussed was the organisation of the Association.

Dupleix wished to know how the Association was to be formed.

Limousin thought it was not within the province of the Conference to decide the question: he thought a congress alone could decide it.

Fribourg and *Dupleix* proposed: That the organisation of the Association is a question for the Congress. Carried unanimously.

Marx and *Fribourg* proposed that the following questions be submitted to the Congress: "Co-operative labour", "Reduction of the number of the hours of labour", "Female and child labour".

All present voted for them as questions but Weston.

Marx and *Fribourg* proposed the following for the Congress: "Direct and indirect taxation". Agreed to.

The following questions marked 3, 4 and 10 on the programme were also agreed to:*

3. Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between Capital and Labour.

4. Trades' unions—their past, present and future.

10. Standing armies: their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.**

The members then adjourned till tomorrow, the 27th, at 2 o'clock.

*MEETING OF THE CONFERENCE****

Tuesday Evening, at 8 o'clock

Citizen *Odger* in the chair, Citizen *Jung* Vice-Chairman and interpreter.

Citizen *Cremer* read the reports of the two previous sittings of the Sub-Committee, and the questions resolved upon in that department were submitted to the Conference.

1st. That the sum of £150 be raised for the purpose of propagandism and to get up the Congress. Carried unanimously.

2nd. That the Congress be held in Geneva. Carried unanimously.

3rd. That it be recorded that the cause of [reason why] the place where the Congress was to be held is changed from Brussels to Geneva, is the uncivilised and inhuman law passed in Belgium for the expulsion of illustrious**** foreigners. Carried unanimously.

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* Here an excerpt from the General Council's leaflet on the London Conference is pasted into the minutes (see p. 305 of the present volume).—*Ed.*

** The excerpt ends here.—*Ed.*

*** The minutes, written on two pages, are in Le Lubez's hand.—*Ed.*

**** The word "illustrious" is crossed out in pencil.—*Ed.*

4th. That the meeting of the Congress be fixed for next May.

This was strongly opposed by Citizen *Le Lubez* who said there was not time sufficient to make the Congress a success by that time.

A long discussion followed, the Paris delegates insisting on the absolute necessity of having it not later than that.

Carried by a large majority, Citizens *Hansen* and *Lessner* voting against it, Citizen *Le Lubez* abstaining from voting.

5th. The questions that are to be discussed at the Congress.

Citizen *Le Lubez* asked that each question be put separately.

The 1st question was supposed to have been disposed of, so the 2nd was submitted to the meeting and carried.

But Citizen *Le Lubez* having asked to return to the 1st of the questions in order to decide what would be the mode of admission to the Congress, Citizen *Vésinier* asked what would be the rights of those who would attend and who were to vote.

The *Paris delegates* said that all those who have a card must be entitled to all the rights of discussion and of voting. They made it a matter of principle and said it was universal suffrage.

Citizen *Cremer* urged that the Congress should be composed exclusively of representative men[269] and he made a resolution[270] to the effect that all the adhering branches of the International Association might send delegates and that any other society of working men,[271] having been established more than 3 months previous to the assembling of the Congress, might send delegates who would have the same rights as the delegates of the International Association.

The *Paris delegates*, then, withdrew their proposition.

A great deal of opposition was shown to the latter part

of Citizen *Cremer*'s proposition, "the admitting of representatives of any organised societies who had not adhered to the principles of the International Association, to vote and to have the same influence on its destiny as the delegates from the Central Council and of the branch societies".

Citizen *Vésinier* then proposed that any member of the Association, having his card, or any well-known citizen who shall be proposed by two members to the Central Council or to the council of any of the branches, and who is accepted by them or anyone of them, shall be entitled to all the rights of the delegates to the Congress.

Citizen *Dupleix* said that in Geneva they invited members of other societies to their meetings and that they allowed them to take part in the discussion but *not to vote.* He recommended the same course for the Congress. He also said that special cards should be issued and charged for to those who wish to assist at the Congress.

Citizen *César De Paepe* proposed that the right of voting be given to delegated members of the Association, discussion à tous les . . .*, that everyone be admitted to speak but not to vote.

Citizens *Carter, Eccarius, Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin* (who said that all those who attended should vote), *Wheeler, Leno, Lassassie* and others took part in the discussion[272] when Citizen Cremer's proposition was divided, and, the first part being put, was carried, Citizens *Vésinier* and *De Paepe* voting against it.

A discussion then followed with regard to the second part of the proposition—the admission of all delegates, of any workmen's society, to have the right to attend and to vote.

Citizen *Vésinier* made an earnest appeal to the members to beware of Bonapartists who most certainly could get

* The sentence "discussion à tous les. . ." is inserted in pencil; one more word is illegible.—*Ed.*

any number of their partisans elected as representatives and outvote us at the Congress.

Citizen *Tolain* said he did not think Bonapartism was so dangerous as some people would make it—he thought it was much magnified.[273]

Eventually Citizen *Cremer* withdrew the second part of his proposition.[274]

Each of the remaining propositions, the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and 10th* were put and voted; the 9th was put off till the next day.

The meeting then adjourned.

*CONFERENCE OF WEDNESDAY EVENING***

September 27, 1865

Citizen *Odger* in the chair, Citizen *Jung* translator and Vice-Chairman.

Citizen *Marx* read the report from the meeting of the Permanent Committee and the delegates.[275]

Citizen *Le Lubez* read the minutes, and, at the request of the Paris representatives, translated them. They were passed unanimously.

The following resolutions came from a prealable*** meeting of the afternoon and proposed as fit questions to be put before the Congress:

1st resolution. That a meeting to be held at Geneva after the Congress. Carried unanimously.

2nd. That the question of giving relief to the sick, orphans and old people be submitted to the Congress.[276]

Citizen *Cremer* supported that idea very strongly, saying that material benefits are the greatest link, for the

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* See p. 305 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

** The minutes, written on three pages, are in Le Lubez's hand. —*Ed.*

*** Should read: preliminary.—*Ed.*

present, to hold out to societies in this country. He hoped the Association would seriously take up the question. Carried unanimously.

3rd. The formation of international credit societies.[277]

It was said that those societies might be of immense service. It appears that in France these societies are allowed, but as under an absolute government no funds were safe from its grasp, they would be glad of finding a secure place for their funds in England. Carried unanimously.

4th. That it is imperative to annihilate the invading influence of Russia in Europe by applying to Poland "the right of every people to dispose of itself", and re-establishing that country on a social and democratic basis.[278]

Citizen *Le Lubez* proposed that the latter part of the proposition only be retained, i.e., "that peoples have a right to dispose of themselves". He said that it would be affirming the same principle, but upon a broader, in fact, a universal basis.

Citizen *Weston*, in seconding the amendment, said he was opposed to the introduction of any but social questions. He said we ought to do one thing at a time, and do it well.

Citizen *De Paepe* said that he did not think the question ought to be introduced at all. The re-establishment of Poland could only benefit 3 classes: the high nobility, the low nobility and the clergy. As to the serfs, they had little to hope for. "You want to check Russian influence," said the orator, "which influence? That of the government? Then I ask that the influence of *all* governments in Europe be checked. Is the influence of the Prussian, Austrian, English and French governments less baneful than that of Russia? I say no. But if you mean to check the influence of the Russian people, then I say that they are the same as any other people. Indeed there is a movement going on among the working peasants by which they claim 'the land and liberty'.[279] Then, there are so many people who

suffer that it is almost unjust to name but one." He moved that the question be not entertained.[280]

Citizen *Wheeler* warmly supported the resolution. He said that Russia had always been a stumbling-block in the way of progress. Despotism was horrible anywhere, but that of Russia was the most cruel.

Citizen *Lassassie* thought we had better see the intense misery and tyranny under which the people in these countries laboured than go so far to look for wrongs. Governments wished for our minds to be directed to far-off questions; it prevented us from seeing the tyranny at home; he insisted on Ireland being freed from English yoke.

Captain *Bobczynski* in a very able and eloquent speech answered the objections that had been raised against the resolution. Poland, he said, had fought the longest, had been the longer oppressed, her sons had shed their blood on every battle-field where right was struggling against might. Poland is the key-note to European freedom—she must be democratic and she declares for the freedom of all.[281]

The *President** said that it was at a meeting in favour of Poland, held at St. James's Hall, that the French and English workmen first met fraternally together[282]; we must support Poland: to us, it was the type of oppressed nations.

Citizen *Carter* said that to deal with social questions and leave political ones untouched, was to deal with a headless body, or a body without a soul. He did not know where despotism would stop if the voice of humanity was not raised against it. He was in favour of the proposition.

After a very long discussion, the Chairman put it: That it be not entertained. Only seven voted for, and 10 against.

For Citizen *Le Lubez*'s proposition—10, for the original proposition—23.

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* Odger.—*Ed.*

Citizen *Vésinier* asked the following names to be added to Poland: Rome, Venice, Hungary, France, Ireland, Mexico and others, but the Chairman told him he was out of order, that the question was settled.

5th resolution. The religious idea; its relation to social, political and intellectual development of the people.[283]

Citizen *Carter* moved that it be not entertained. He said that we had nothing to do with dogmas or creeds, that each individual must have full liberty to judge for himself, and that there should be no interference between a man's conscience and his god.

Citizen *Le Lubez* said that he wished there was no interference, then we should have no priests or parsons, but the latter existed; the other side of the question must be made known.

Citizen *Fribourg* supported the resolution.[284]

Citizen *Holtorp* also supported it.

Citizen *Weston* made an earnest appeal to the meeting *not* to entertain the question.

Citizen *Howell* said it was our duty to study this question, not in narrow, sectarian point of view, but as a philosophic principle. In England, it had been the custom to condemn all discussions of religious or political questions. That is the reason there were so few who understood those questions: thence our slow progress. But we must have them carefully studied as they greatly affect our welfare.

Citizen *De Paepe* said that the men who in catholic countries go and kneel to a fellow-man are not the men to be relied on for the carrying out of their own emancipation. Those who believe in a Being of some kind who was always above them and whose humble instruments they believe they are, always feel themselves low, and are not the likely men to become independent.[285]

Citizen *Tolain* said that the programme would be incomplete without that proposition.[286]

Citizen *Weston* again appealed to the meeting not to admit that apple of discord.

For the amendment—13, for the proposition—18.

The meeting then separated.[287]

Freemasons Arms. September 29th

*MEETING OF STANDING COMMITTEE AND DELEGATES**

General proposition to send copies of address[288] to the whole of the branches. Supported by *Dupleix* and *De Paepe* and carried unanimously.

That the £150 be raised by the different nationalities in the following proportions: English—£80, French—£40, Swiss—£10, German—£10, and Belgium—£10; and if the last £10 cannot be raised in Belgium, to [be] raised in equal proportions [by] the other nationalities. Unanimously.

In future the delegates of the different nationalities shall be empowered by their constituents to deliberate definitively and in proportion to their numbers, on all financial questions. Carried unanimously.

Suggested by *Dupleix* and others that Vésinier's name be struck out of our official report.

Tolain proposed a vote of regret at the absence of Mr. Peter Fox, such expression to be sent by the Central Council on account of his services to the Association.

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* The minutes, written on one and a half pages, are in Howell's hand.—*Ed.*

Schily seconded on behalf of the French delegates and the Standing Committee.

The Protocol read by Dr. *Marx* and carried unanimously.

The following suggestions were read and left for the Central Council:

We beg to express on behalf of the English members of the Association the great pleasure and satisfaction we have felt at the cordial way in which the Conference has been conducted, and the friendly sentiments expressed by all the assembled delegates.

That the thanks of the Conference be tendered to Citizen Jung for his considerate and impartial conduct as translator to the Conference.

REPORT ON THE WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT IN GERMANY[289]

*Written by W. Liebknecht**

In consequence of the slow development of our industry and commerce the working classes of Germany entered political life much later than their brethren in England and France. It was in the year 1848, after the Revolution of February, that for the first time the necessity dawned upon them to improve their social position. What had been thought, written, done before, had been thought, written and done almost exclusively either by men not strictly belonging to the working class or by workmen that were living or had been living in England, France or Switzerland. It had not grown out of the German working classes.

The part which the workmen took in the movement of 1848 and 1849 was as honourable as it was unclear and undefined. They were the foremost on every barricade, in every battle-field, but, not having a distinct idea of their class interests, of the relations of Capital and Labour, they fought for the good of others, not their own. There existed at that time only one paper that advocated the true interests of the working classes, and tried to direct the stream of popular power into the right channels: the *New Rhenish Gazette*** founded and edited by Dr. Charles

* The report is written by W. Liebknecht on 11 pages.—*Ed.*
** *Neue Rheinische Zeitung.*—*Ed.*

Marx. It substituted principles to phrases, destroyed the fallacies of middle-class economy instead of propagating vague socialistic theories and utopisms. Soon the *New Rhenish Gazette* acquired a great influence, especially amongst the workmen of Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia, where industry is more developed than in any other part of Germany and where consequently the interests of the working and middle class are more opposed to one another. However, *immediate practical* results could not be achieved, because through the cowardice of the middle classes reaction speedily gained the day. The popular movement was stifled in blood throughout Germany, the *New Rhenish Gazette* violently suppressed, the leaders of the working classes driven into exile, the liberty of the press destroyed together with the right of meeting and of association.

The Manteuffel Government was not satisfied with that. Their Jesuitical instinct told them that in order to get the people quite into their power, they must *educate* the people from the tenderest youth, form the mind of the growing generation in their model. The infamous *"School-Regulations"* were fabricated and carried out during fully *nine years*. In most other states of Germany reaction proceeded in the same manner. If we consider that in Germany every child *must* be sent to school, and that education is absolutely in the hands of the government, we can imagine the demoralising, the *unmanning* effects of the "School-Regulations". When in 1862 I returned to Germany I was surprised at the ravages made by this means in the mind and character of our working men.

The whim of the King of Prussia, which overthrew the Manteuffel Ministry, also caused some kind of political revival in Germany. The middle class, characterless as always and everywhere, ever ready to sacrifice the principles they profess to their momentary pocket-interests, flung themselves at the feet of King William, and this

monarch, who, when Crown-Prince, had led the Prussian army against the people fighting for "German Liberty and Unity", was proclaimed by them the champion of "German Liberty and Unity"! The upshot of this stupid servile behaviour we see now.

The working classes did not quite escape the epidemy. After the suppression of the *New Rhenish Gazette* they had not had an organ in the press. The influence exercised by their banished leaders had of necessity been very small during the epoch of reaction. The secret societies, organised when no legal means of agitation was left, had mostly been broken up by the police. No workmen's societies had been tolerated, except those founded by the tools of the government and the priests, and except the harmless goose and saving clubs introduced by Mr. Schulze-Delitzsch, formerly a so-called "Democrat", but since converted. However, Mr. Schulze had acquired a certain popularity, and as soon as the "New Era" of mock liberalism began, the middle-class politicians ("Liberals", "Progressists", men of the "National Society") took him under their wing, puffed him up as the greatest political economist of the age, the benefactor of the working classes, the Oedipus, who by his goose clubs had solved the social question. The stratagem was successful to some extent. The majority of the workmen believed what they were told every day by hundreds of middle-class speakers, by hundreds of middle-class papers. There had been rather a time of prosperity, wages had risen in many branches of industry—in fact there was no special ground for social discontent.

Mr. Schulze became a "great man". Faithful to his mission—*at first* he acted conscientiously and did not see that he was merely the instrument of the middle class; but since he has taken a "present" of 50,000 Rh.* from

* Reichstaler.—*Ed.*

his patrons, he cannot live in this "blessed ignorance" any more—faithful to his mission he preached his gospel of the goose club amongst the workmen and proved to them that their interests were the same as those of the middle class, that the antagonism of Capital and Labour was an English and French *invention*, and that in every question they had to follow the lead of their capital-possessing brethren. Mr. Schulze is a very plausible speaker; he has a stock of half a dozen set phrases, all very well sounding, and at the reach of the dullest brain which he shakes about as in a kaleidoscope; so that each time he says the same thing, but always in different order, and so that all his speeches may be read from the end and from the middle just as well as from the beginning.

From 1859, the time of the "New Era", up to the end of 1862 the German workmen formed but the *chorus* of the "liberal" middle-class party; at the elections they were simply, to use an American expression, the *"voting cattle"* of the "Progressists".

The first attempt at emancipation was made at Berlin in the winter 1862/63 by a workman named *Eichler*. He was occupied in a large Berlin factory, and by his employers he had been, together with some other workmen, sent to the London Exhibition of 1862. In London he was accidentally present at a meeting held by the "German Working Men's Society" (now in the International Association) in commemoration of the Paris Insurrection of June.[290] He was struck with what he heard there, informed himself, and soon discovered that in England all that, which according to Mr. Schulze was to heal every social complaint: goose clubs, free competition, the right of settlement, etc., existed in full force since a long, long time, and that *yet* the social problem was not solved there, the fetters of labour not broken. He returned to Berlin, told his employers that Mr. Schulze was a charlatan, a humbug, and was—dismissed. He called several meetings

together, explained to the workmen that in order to free themselves they must go their own way, that from the middle class they had to expect nothing and proposed a *congress of the German workmen.* The project met with great applause, but the intrigues of the "Progressists", who denounced the promoter as a "tool of the reaction" aiming at the dissolution of the unity of the "great liberal party", succeeded finally in foiling it. Eichler could not get work from any employer, he was literally starved out, and, driven to the last extremity, he has since accepted a place as telegraphist in the telegraph office of the Berlin *police.* It was certainly wrong in him to accept such a situation, but the principal blame no doubt falls on the middle class that systematically deprived him of every chance of living *honestly.*

Meanwhile the soap-bubble of the "New Era" had burst. The reins of power had slipped from the hands of the "liberal" weaklings, and been taken by Herr von Bismarck. The "Liberals" throughout Prussia and Germany set up a terrific howl; but the times are past when walls crumbled to pieces before the braying of full-mouthed creatures—Herr von Bismarck remained undisturbed, and will *never* be overturned by the middle-class "Liberals". This political adventurer has made his studies at St. Petersburg and at Paris. He is the worthy *confrère* of Bonaparte. He aims at absolute despotic power, but, too clever not to perceive, that government is nowadays impossible, if it does not succeed in winning over the masses, he at once began to imitate the example of his friend in Paris, and held out the bribe of socialism to the working classes. In Silesia a difference arose between the masters and workmen; the government ostentatiously took the part of the latter. A former refugee, just returned from London,* was offered a column of the Ministerial paper to write articles

* W. Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

on the social question and he was assured of the most complete liberty—of course he refused. Herr von Bismarck looked for a socialistic agitator.

At that time Mr. Lassalle stepped upon the stage. If he had not presented himself, he would have been invented.

I have neither time nor space to draw a detailed picture of Lassalle, to give a full history of the part he has played in the German working-class movement. There are men at London who are able to do it. More a revolutionary *character* or rather *temper* than a revolutionary *mind*, Lassalle was disgusted with the cowardice of the "liberal" middle-class. He saw that they were unable to realise their own programme and he resolved to appeal to the working classes. He communicated to them part of the contents of the writings of Mr. Marx, whose pupil he was in Political Economy, of Engels and others, but without naming his sources; founded the "Universal German Working Men's Society", and opened his campaign against the middle class. Ambitious, passionate, thirsting for immediate results, he forgot that he lived under a strong despotic government, which could crush him *as soon as he gave the least offence*. He asked his former friends in England to assist him. They told him the time was not well chosen, no movement as he intended was possible, now it must either degenerate into mere buffoonery, or accommodate itself to the government. Lassalle had gone too far already; he was deep in the meshes of the aristocracy—he could not return. What his friends had foretold him, soon proved true. In order not to have his movement stopped at once he had to make *concessions* to the powers that be, he had to break off the point of the principles developed by him. *And after a year's time he found himself in the dilemma, either to confess that he had made a mistake, or to go over to the government.* His *pride* forbade him the former, his *honesty* the latter. In August

1864 he was shot in a duel; the bullet of his adversary saved him from the cruel dilemma.

When Lassalle died, his "Society" numbered in all about 4,000 members, the highest number it ever reached—in reality, not on paper. Of his writings on the social question may be said what Lessing once said of a book: There is much good and new in them; unfortunately the good is not new and the new is not good. Good was, what he said against the middle-class economists, but then all that had been said before, and much better, by Mr. Marx, Engels and others. Bad, and a source of great mischief, was what he said about the necessity of *founding co-operative societies with the help of the state*. He *meant* another state than the present one, but most of his hearers *could* not but think he talked of the *state of Mr. v. Bismarck*. By this unhappy doctrine of state help he also spoiled his agitation in favour of *universal suffrage*. In Prussia, as in most German States, the elections are indirect, and the electors, according to the taxes they pay, divided into three different classes. The third class, containing the working classes and the great majority of the people, counts only as much as *each* of the two other classes, containing the rich minority; so that the vote, which the working classes possess, is obviously illusory. Now, the call for universal, direct and equal suffrage went right to the heart of the German working classes, but as they saw instinctively that Lassalle, who thought to make Bismarck his tool, was on the contrary Bismarck's tool, and that with his "state help" he played the game of the government, they withdrew from him. Else the "Society" would have become twenty times as numerous; but then it would also not have been tolerated.

After Lassalle's death Mr. Bismarck did everything in his power to get the working-class movement thoroughly and directly into his hands. He promised them through his go-betweens universal suffrage, the repeal of the Anti-

Combination Laws and other concessions; asking in return that the working classes should support his *annexation* policy, and help him to destroy radically the "liberal" middle-class movement. The temptation was great. Many of Lassalle's friends were willing to accept.

At that time, December last [1864], some friends of Lassalle started a paper at Berlin, called the *Social-Demokrat*. They invited Mr. Marx, Mr. Engels, in fact the men of the *New Rhenish Gazette* to co-operate with them. The offer was, after much hesitation, accepted under the *express condition that neither directly nor indirectly the present government should be supported*, that the working classes should simply be enlightened about their position and duties, and *prepared for independent action.*

This condition was not kept. Mr. Marx and his friends left the paper and denounced its editors and those writers, that remained at it, as traitors to the cause of the people.

The intrigues of Bismarck had brought their fruit. Lassalle's "Society" and the paper, founded by his personal friends, *belonged to the government.* No time had to be lost; at Berlin and at other points the traitors were attacked, and after a hard struggle, they were turned out of their own "Society". The *Social-Demokrat* has now about 300 subscribers; and the "Lassalleans" have dwindled down to a few hundred deluding or deluded people, who are divided into two different sects carrying on an internecine war, as disgusting as it is ludicrous. The man, who was principally active at Berlin in preventing the "alliance" between the working classes and the government,* was driven out of Prussia, and all branches of the "Society" in Prussia, as they were no more of any use to the government, were suppressed.

From what is said above, it will be easily seen, why

* W. Liebknecht.—*Ed.*

the "International Working Men's Association" could not get a firm footing in Germany till now. The principles of the "Association" are approved of by every thinking German workman. Last winter, when the programme was sent from London, it was read and explained *in all the more important working men's societies* of Berlin, and *approved of unanimously* and *enthusiastically*. Societies as such, are by the German laws prevented from combining, even from corresponding with other societies, especially with societies in foreign countries. This rendered direct accession to the "Association" impossible. Consequently it was intended to cause the *single* members to enter; and this would have been done, had not the intrigues of the government thrown the working men's societies into the crisis, described by me.

For the present, in Prussia very little is to be done, because our party is watched closely by a government knowing no scruples; but still something *may* be done and *will* be done.

Out of Prussia there is only one German State where the soil is good for the working-class movement, and that is Saxony. Here until lately all societies—with the exception of a few small "Lassallean" ones, the remnants of which are rotting fast now—were under the guidance of Mr. Schulze. However, they have emancipated themselves thoroughly, and though they have to learn yet a great deal, they are on the right road. In fact, the so-called *Schulze* societies have, with very few exceptions, everywhere freed themselves; last month they had their yearly congress at Stuttgart, and there they declared unanimously for universal, direct and equal suffrage, and against the Anti-Combination Laws; although Mr. Schulze and his middle-class protectors had made almost superhuman efforts to persuade the workmen that they had not to meddle with politics, and that *full* liberty of combination (coalition) would be detrimental to them.

I think, from what I have written, it will appear that the German working classes are *progressing*. Certainly one great step they have made in advance during the last few years: *they have learned that there is an antagonism between Labour and Capital, that they have to fight their own battle, and that they must possess political power in order to be able to achieve their social emancipation.*

P.S. I could only write a hurried sketch; there are members of the Association present, who will explain the reason, and who will likewise explain, why I cannot attend personally this time.

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS
OF
KARL MARX

KARL MARX

DRAFT FOR A REPORT TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL

January 24, 1865[291]

As to the accession of the General Federation of German Working Men's Societies, it will declare in one way or another the identity of its purposes with those of the International Association, but the adhesion cannot take place directly, through a formal resolution passed by the [representatives] of the General German Association, because such a step would be in contravention to the Prussian laws regulating associations.

From the same reason the Berlin Society of Printers and Composers, which takes the greatest interest in your proceedings, is disabled from adhering to the London society by way of a formal resolution.

However, even the latter society is sure to send a deputy to the Congress to be convoked by the London Committee.

Moreover, you must not forget, that our journal,[292] the organ of the German Federation of Working Men's Societies, has been put at the entire disposal of the International Committee.

Written by K. Marx
on January 24, 1865

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Published for the first time in the original

KARL MARX

NOTES CONCERNING THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION[293]

21 Febr. (Tuesday). Beschluss des Central Council den Le Lubez herüberzuschicken, reist ab.

Wednesday. 22 Febr. Abends. Lubez reist ab.

Paris. 23 Febr. Einladung zu *meeting* des Lefort bei Fribourg, etc. (Sieh *Letter of Fribourg. Antwort des Lefort in Schily's Brief*, p. 2).

24 Febr. Abend. Meeting von Fribourg, etc.

25 Febr. Morgen. Lefort besucht Schily mit Lubez.

Schily geht nun, Lefort zunächst in der Nähe lassend, zu Fribourg, where they found different friends, amongst others a friend of Lefort's. All were decidedly against his intrusion. Schily then went away to fetch him, and did not conceal from him that he considered his claim such as formulated by him untenable (p. 2). Betrogen der Lefort bei der Gelegenheit (l.c.).[294] Schritte getan entgegenkommend gegen Lefort (2, 3).

25 Febr. Abend. Meeting. Le Lubez nicht da; ging zur Lefortschen Soirée (3, 4).

Schilderung dieses Meeting vom 25 Febr. (p. 4, 5, 6).

Written by K. Marx on March 4, 1865

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KARL MARX

MEMORANDUM TO HERMANN JUNG APROPOS OF THE CONFLICT IN THE PARIS SECTION[295]

Sub-Committee Sitting. 4 March. He* wanted already to move his resolution, according to which the Paris Administration was to be composed as follows: Fribourg, Vinçard, Limousin, 3 members to be designated by Lefort, *Schily* as a sort of *umpire.*

Sub-Committee Sitting. 6 March. He reproduces that motion.

Sitting of the Central Council. 7 March. He allowed the appointment of Schily to pass *without division*, that is, he *accepted* it, speaking in a parliamentary sense.

After this had taken place, he writes in hot-haste to Paris, even before he had the *Resolutions* in his hand. He expected, as he said (14 March), that the *Paris Administration* would *protest* against Schily. As by Resolution V (*Resolution V. The Administration* at *Paris having expressed its readiness to acknowledge a direct delegation* from the Central Council, the Council accordingly appoints Citizen Schily to be its delegate to the said Administration).

Schily was only accredited to *that* Administration, his appointment could only be protested against by them.

Having failed with them, Lubez conspires with the

* Le Lubez.—*Ed.*

brothers of his lodge, to declare Schily's appointment the cause of their withdrawal.[296]

He puts himself in this awkward position: He protests against the Paris Administration in the name of Lefort, and he protests against Schily in the name of the Paris Administration which *represents* the French branch, etc.

On the remark of Mr. Fox (last sitting of Central Council) that his forgetfulness of Schily's nationality on 4 and 6 March, and his *vivid* recollection of it on March 14 could only be accounted for by his wish to revenge himself because of the slight he thought Mr. Lefort was put to, he accepted *this plain* explanation.

His *mean insinuations*:

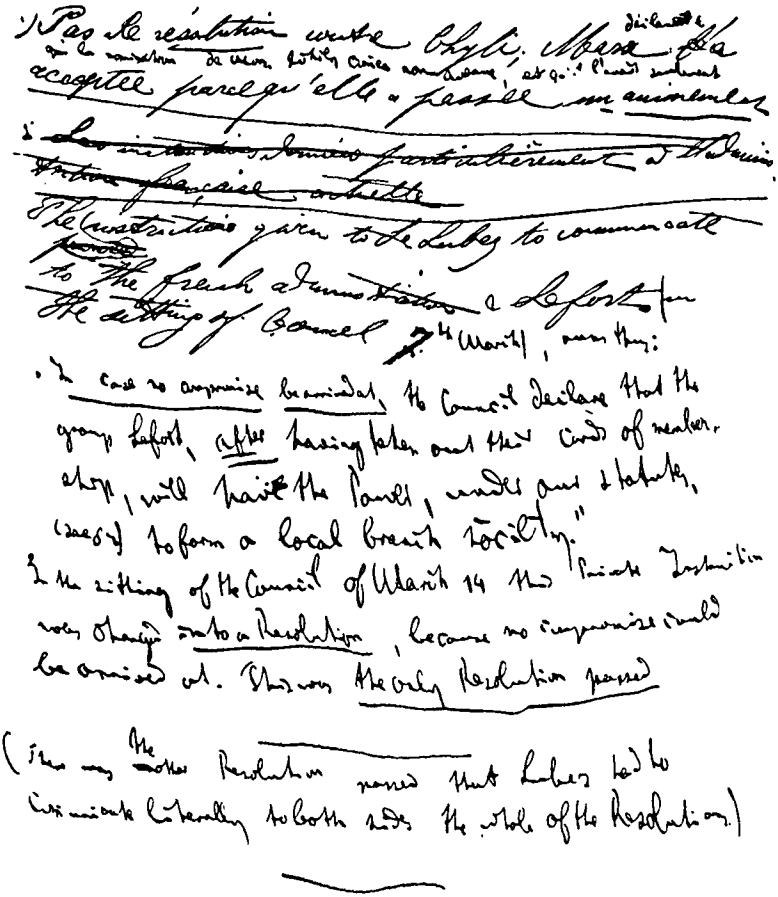
1-stly) As if the introductory words of Resolution V had been inserted as a catch-vote on false pretences. These words rest upon facts, Mr. *Schily's open letter*, brought over by Lubez, read on March 7 in presence of Tolain, etc.; secondly Mr. *Schily's report*, communicated to the Sub-Committee; lastly the *resolutions passed by the meeting of 24th February* at Paris.[297] The words were only inserted to avoid even the appearance of dictatorship on the part of the Central Council.

2-ndly) There had on March 7 time be[en] killed by personal altercations in order to hurry the acceptance of the 3 last resolutions; carry them by surprise.

3-rdly) Mr. Schily was no *ouvrier*. Rejected as *principle* by Resolution II. Schily had only to act *privately* with the Paris Administration; Lefort was to act upon the *public stage* before the world in the name of the Association. The cases *not analogous*.

As to Lefort.

He asks us to appoint him Defender General in the French press. We do so because we suppose him to act in understanding, and in concurrence with Tolain, etc. This nomination so obtained, he turns afterwards *against* us into a legal title. On Tolain's letter, and *before* Lubez was



Page of Marx's memorandum to Jung apropos of the conflict in the Paris section

sent to Paris, we *cancel* this appointment, as far as Mr. Lefort's *name* and *public position* is concerned. (We reduce it to this: he is allowed to write articles *not* signed by *himself*, but by *an ouvrier*—a thing which he might have done without our consent.) That such is the case, results from an angry letter he then wrote to Lubez, but he yielded. The Paris meeting of February 24th committed only this blunder that it *protested* against a resolution that had ceased to exist. And *upon this* Mr. Lefort, or his friends at London, feign to forget that he had already given up the post he was named to. He even menaces us to *warn all democrats against us*, forgetting that *we* can warn *against* him, if necessary.

He and his man Lubez say that he is not moved by personal ambition. He only wants a political guarantee. Well. We appoint *Vinçard*, a man who represents more guarantees than Lefort et Le Lubez put together. Having been appointed, Mr. *Vinçard* turns into a nonentity for Lefort and Lubez. The only thing they could say against his proposal by Tolain, etc., afterwards confirmed by us, is this: that it was not at the right time communicated to Lefort. Thus this miserable point of etiquette is their last pretence of opposition, etc.

International character of the Society endangered, and power of the Council to appoint *ambassadors*.

The class character of this movement. Républicains formalistes.

---

1) Pas de *résolution* contre Schily; Marx déclare la nomination de Mons. Schily comme non-avenue et qu'il l'avait seulement acceptée parce qu'elle a passé *unanimement*.

2) The instructions given to Le Lubez to communicate to the French Administration and Lefort (in the sitting of Council, 7th March), run thus: "*In case no compromise be arrived at*, the Council declare that the group Lefort, *after* having taken out their cards of membership, will have the power, under our Statutes (see § 7), to form a local branch society."

In the sitting of the Council of March 14 this private instruction was changed *into a resolution*, because no compromise could be arrived at. This was *the only resolution passed.**

(There was the other resolution passed that Lubez had to communicate literally to both sides the whole of the resolution.)

Written by K. Marx on March 16-18, 1865

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Published for the first time in the original

* This whole section is written partly in Marx's hand and partly in Jung's hand. See facsimile on p. 267 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

KARL MARX

NOTE TO HERMANN JUNG APROPOS OF ERNEST JONES'S LETTER TO THE GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

March 21, 1865[298]

Ernest Jones writes to Marx (d.d. March 16, Manchester) that he will support the delegation sent to the Manchester Conference. The middle class had sent to him and Hooson to sign the Circular convening the Manchester Conference.[299] He had not accepted it at the date of the letter. Er schreibt ausserdem: "We are going to hold district meetings in Manchester to organise the Manhood Suffrage movement in support of the London one."

Give *Mr. Cremer* (privately) the address of *E. Jones*: 55, Cross Street, Manchester.

Written by K. Marx on March 18, 1865

Published according to the manuscript

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KARL MARX

NOTES FOR THE REPORT ON WAGES, PRICE AND PROFIT[300]

1) A general rise in the rate of wages will, broadly speaking, produce a general fall in the rate of profits, leaving the values of commodities unaltered.

2) Under very exceptional circumstances, only a general rise of wages could be realised. If obtained, it could only [be] lost under very exceptional circumstances. The general tendency of production, upon its present basis, is not to raise, but to lower wages. Even if a general rise in the rate of wages should obtain for any longer period, it would not abolish but only mitigate the slavery of the wages' labourer, that is, of the mass of the people.

3) Trades' Unions work well as far as they counteract, if even temporarily, the tendency to a fall in the general rate of wages, and as far as they tend to shorten and regulate the time of labour, in other words, the extent of the working day. They work well as far as they are a means of organising the working class as a class. They fail accidentally, by an injudicious use of their power, and they fail generally by accepting the present relations of capital and labour as permanent instead of working for their abolition.

Written by K. Marx in June 1865

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MINUTES OF GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING RECORDED BY KARL MARX

January 16, 1866[301]

Eccarius in the chair.

Minutes read and confirmed.

Citizens Longuet et Crespelle were nominated members of the Council.

Marx communicated to the Council the receipt by Fox of a letter of thanks by Mrs. O'Donovan for his articles in the *Workman's Advocate* on Fenianism, and the reprint, in the same paper, of the appeal for the support of the convicted Fenians.

Marx proposed Citizen Longuet's nomination in his place as correspondent for Belgium. Seconded by *Jung*. Accepted.

Jung read a letter of Dujonquoy (Hotel de New York) requesting the payment of £7 17s. owed to him from the times of the Conference.

A discussion followed in which *Le Lubez*, *Jung*, *Dupont*, *Wheeler*, *Lessner*, and others took part.

Cremer: The members of the Council and the Association ought [to] pay their cards immediately.

Jung proposes: That Dupont should tell Dujonquoy that the Council having not been largely attended, part of the bill be paid on Wednesday next and a definite answer given. *Seconded by Lessner.*

Jung reads: Talbot, of Caen, letter, and one pound (for 20 cards) (to Dupont).

Propaganda in different towns of the departments of Calvados, Orne, La Manche.

Mr. *Wheeler* moves: That notice be given that everyone who does not (renew) pay his card until 15th February, will cease to be member of the Association. (To be advertised in the *Advocate.*) *Seconded by Citizen Jung.* Carried.

Werecki (as *delegate of the Poles*) explains their absence on the Standing Committee. On Monday they had a meeting and got the necessary money together. After some discussion, as to the place of meeting, *St. Martin's Hall,* next *Monday (22 January),* 8 o'clock in the evening.

Cremer read the *Appeal to the British Members.* Accepted Address. Difficulty as to the signature of the names. *Moved* subscription-sheets to be printed for. Carried on the motion of Wheeler.

Recorded by K. Marx on January 16, 1866

Published according to the manuscript

Published for the first time in the original

DOCUMENTS
OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL
OF THE INTERNATIONAL
WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION[302]

ESTABLISHED SEPTEMBER 28, 1864 AT A PUBLIC MEETING HELD AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, LONG ACRE, LONDON

Working Men,

It is a great fact that the misery of the working masses has not diminished from 1848 to 1864, and yet this period is unrivalled for the development of its industry and the growth of its commerce. In 1850, a moderate organ of the British middle class, of more than average information, predicted that if the exports and imports of England were to rise 50 per cent, English pauperism would sink to zero. Alas! on April 7th, 1864, the Chancellor of the Exchequer delighted his Parliamentary audience by the statement that the total import and export trade of England had grown in 1863 "to £443,955,000! that astonishing sum about three times the trade of the comparatively recent epoch of 1843!" With all that, he was eloquent upon "poverty". "Think," he exclaimed, "of those who are on the border of that region," upon "wages ... not increased"; upon "human life ... in nine cases out of ten but a struggle of existence!" He did not speak of the people of Ireland, gradually replaced by machinery in the north, and by sheep-walks in the south, though even the sheep in that unhappy country are decreasing, it is true, not at so rapid a rate as the men. He did not repeat what then had been just betrayed by the highest representatives of the upper ten thousand in a sudden fit of terror. When the garotte panic had reached a certain height, the House

of Lords caused an inquiry to be made into, and a report to be published upon, transportation and penal servitude. Out came the murder in the bulky Blue Book of 1863, and proved it was, by official facts and figures, that the worst of the convicted criminals, the penal serfs of England and Scotland, toiled much less and fared far better than the agricultural labourers of England and Scotland. But this was not all. When, consequent upon the Civil War in America, the operatives of Lancashire and Cheshire were thrown upon the streets, the same House of Lords sent to the manufacturing districts a physician commissioned to investigate into the smallest possible amount of carbon and nitrogen, to be administered in the cheapest and plainest form, which on an average might just suffice to "avert starvation diseases". Dr. Smith, the medical deputy, ascertained that 28,000 grains of carbon, and 1,330 grains of nitrogen were the weekly allowance that would keep an average adult . . . just over the level of starvation diseases, and he found furthermore that quantity pretty nearly to agree with the scanty nourishment to which the pressure of extreme distress had actually reduced the cotton operatives.* But now mark! The same learned Doctor was later on again deputed by the medical officer of the Privy Council to inquire into the nourishment of the poorer labouring classes. The results of his researches are embodied in the "Sixth Report on Public Health", published by order of Parliament in the course of the present year. What did the Doctor discover? That the silk weavers, the needle women, the kid glovers, the stocking weav-

* We need hardly remind the reader that, apart from the elements of water and certain inorganic substances, carbon and nitrogen form the raw materials of human food. However, to nourish the human system, those simple chemical constituents must be supplied in the form of vegetable or animal substances. Potatoes, for instance, contain mainly carbon, while wheaten bread contains carbonaceous and nitrogenous substances in a due proportion.

ers, and so forth, received,* on an average, not even the distress pittance of the cotton operatives, not even the amount of carbon and nitrogen "just sufficient to avert starvation diseases".

"Moreover," we quote from the report, "as regards the examined families of the agricultural population, it appeared that more than a fifth were with less than the estimated sufficiency of carbonaceous food, that more than one-third were with less than the estimated sufficiency of nitrogenous food, and that in three counties (Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire) insufficiency of nitrogenous food was the average local diet." "It must be remembered," adds the official report, "that privation of food is very reluctantly borne, and that, as a rule, great poorness of diet will only come when other privations have preceded it.... Even cleanliness will have been found costly or difficult, and if there still be self-respectful endeavours to maintain it, every such endeavour will represent additional pangs of hunger." "These are painful reflections, especially when it is remembered that the poverty to which they advert is not the deserved poverty of idleness; in all cases it is the poverty of working populations. Indeed, the work which obtains the scanty pittance of food is for the most part excessively prolonged."

The report brings out the strange, and rather unexpected fact, "That of the divisions of the United Kingdom", England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, "the agricultural population of England", the richest division, "is considerably the worst fed"; but that even the agricultural labourers of Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and Somersetshire, fare better than great numbers of skilled indoor operatives of the East of London.

Such are the official statements published by order of Parliament in 1864, during the millennium of free trade, at a time when the Chancellor of the Exchequer told the House of Commons that:

"The average condition of the British labourer has improved in a degree we know to be extraordinary and unexampled in the history of any country or any age".

* In the German text the words "Jahr aus Jahr ein" have been added.—*Ed.*

Upon these official congratulations jars the dry remark of the official Public Health Report:

"The public health of a country means the health of its masses, and the masses will scarcely be healthy unless, to their very base, they be at least moderately prosperous."

Dazzled by the "Progress of the Nation" statistics dancing before his eyes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer exclaims in wild ecstasy:

"From 1842 to 1852 the taxable income of the country increased by 6 per cent; in the eight years from 1853 to 1861, it has increased from the basis taken in 1853 20 per cent! the fact is so astonishing to be almost incredible!... This intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power," adds Mr. Gladstone, "is entirely confined to classes of property!"

If you want to know under what conditions of broken health, tainted morals, and mental ruin, that "intoxicating augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was, and is being, produced by the classes of labour, look to the picture hung up in the last "Public Health Report" of the workshops of tailors, printers, and dressmakers! Compare the "Report of the Children's Employment Commission" of 1863, where it is stated, for instance, that:

"The potters as a class, both men and women, represent a much degenerated population, both physically and mentally", that "the unhealthy child is an unhealthy parent in his turn", that "a progressive deterioration of the race must go on", and that "the degenerescence of the population of Staffordshire would be even greater were it not for the constant recruiting from the adjacent country, and the intermarriages with more healthy races."

Glance at Mr. Tremenheere's Blue Book on the "Grievances complained of by the Journeymen Bakers"! And who has not shuddered at the paradoxical statement made by the inspectors of factories, and illustrated by the Registrar General, that the Lancashire operatives, while put upon the distress pittance of food, were actually improving in

health, because of their temporary exclusion by the cotton famine from the cotton factory, and that the mortality of the children was decreasing, because their mothers were now at last allowed to give them, instead of Godfrey's cordial, their own breasts.

Again reverse the medal! The Income and Property Tax Returns laid before the House of Commons on July 20, 1864, teach us that the persons with yearly incomes, valued by the tax-gatherer at £50,000 and upwards, had, from April 5th, 1862, to April 5th, 1863, been joined by a dozen and one, their number having increased in that single year from 67 to 80. The same returns disclose the fact that about 3,000 persons divide amongst themselves a yearly income of about £25,000,000 sterling, rather more than the total revenue doled out annually to the whole mass of the agricultural labourers of England and Wales. Open the census of 1861, and you will find that the number of the male landed proprietors of England and Wales had decreased from 16,934 in 1851, to 15,066 in 1861, so that the concentration of land had grown in 10 years 11 per cent. If the concentration of the soil of the country in a few hands proceeds at the same rate, the land question will become singularly simplified, as it had become in the Roman Empire, when Nero grinned at the discovery that half the Province of Africa was owned by six gentlemen.

We have dwelt so long upon these "facts so astonishing to be almost incredible", because England heads the Europe of commerce and industry.* It will be remembered that some months ago one of the refugee sons of Louis Philippe publicly congratulated the English agricultural labourer on the superiority of his lot over that of his less florid comrade on the other side of the Channel. Indeed, with local colours changed, and on a scale somewhat contracted, the English facts reproduce themselves in all the industrious

* In the German text the following words have been added: "und in der Tat auf dem Weltmarkt repräsentiert".—*Ed.*

and progressive countries of the Continent. In all of them there has taken place, since 1848, an unheard-of development of industry, and an undreamed-of expansion of imports and exports. In all of them "the augmentation of wealth and power entirely confined to classes of property" was truly "intoxicating". In all of them, as in England, a minority of the working classes got their real wages* somewhat advanced; while in most cases the monetary rise of wages denoted no more a real access of comforts than the inmate of the metropolitan poor-house or orphan asylum, for instance, was in the least benefited by his first necessaries costing £9 15s. 8d. in 1861 against £7 7s. 4d. in 1852. Everywhere the great mass of the working classes were sinking down to a lower depth, at the same rate, at least, that those above them were rising in the social scale. In all countries of Europe it has now become a truth demonstrable to every unprejudiced mind, and only denied by those, whose interest it is to hedge other people in a fool's paradise, that no improvement of machinery,** no appliance of science to production, no contrivances of communication, no new colonies, no emigration, no opening of markets, no free trade, nor all these things put together, will do away with the miseries of the industrious masses; but that, on the present false base, every fresh development of the productive powers of labour must tend to deepen social contrasts and point social antagonisms. Death of starvation rose almost to the rank of an institution, during this intoxicating epoch of economical progress, in the metropolis of the British Empire. That epoch is marked in the annals of the world by the quickened return, the widening compass, and the deadlier effects of the social pest called a commercial and industrial crisis.

* In the German text the following words have been added: "d.h. der mit dem Geldlohn beschaffbaren Lebensmittel".—*Ed.*

** In the German text the following words have been added: "keine chemische Entdeckung".—*Ed.*

After the failure of the Revolutions of 1848, all party organisations and party journals of the working classes were, on the Continent, crushed by the iron hand of force, the most advanced sons of labour fled in despair to the Transatlantic Republic, and the short-lived dreams of emancipation vanished before an epoch of industrial fever, moral marasme, and political reaction. The defeat of the Continental working classes, partly owed to the diplomacy of the English Government, acting then as now in fraternal solidarity with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, soon spread its contagious effects on this side of the Channel. While the rout of their Continental brethren unmanned the English working classes, and broke their faith in their own cause, it restored to the landlord and the money-lord their somewhat shaken confidence. They insolently withdrew concessions already advertised. The discoveries of new goldlands led to an immense exodus, leaving an irreparable void in the ranks of the British proletariat. Others of its formerly active members were caught by the temporary bribe of greater work and wages, and turned into "political blacks". All the efforts made at keeping up, or remodelling, the Chartist Movement, failed signally; the press organs of the working class died one by one of the apathy of the masses, and, in point of fact, never before seemed the English working class so thoroughly reconciled to a state of political nullity. If, then, there had been no solidarity of action between the British and the Continental working classes, there was, at all events, a solidarity of defeat.

And yet the period passed since the Revolutions of 1848 has not been without its compensating features. We shall here only point to two great facts.

After a thirty years' struggle, fought with most admirable perseverance, the English working classes, improving a momentaneous split between the landlords and money-lords, succeeded in carrying the Ten Hours' Bill. The im-

mense physical, moral, and intellectual benefits hence accruing to the factory operatives, half-yearly chronicled in the reports of the inspectors of factories, are now acknowledged on all sides. Most of the Continental governments had to accept the English Factory Act in more or less modified forms, and the English Parliament itself is every year compelled to enlarge its sphere of action. But besides its practical import, there was something else to exalt the marvellous success of this working men's measure. Through their most notorious organs of science, such as Dr. Ure, Professor Senior, and other sages of that stamp, the middle class had predicted, and to their heart's content proved, that any legal restriction of the hours of labour must sound the death knell of British industry, which, vampyre like, could but live by sucking blood, and children's blood, too. In olden times, child murder was a mysterious rite of the religion of Moloch, but it was practised on some very solemn occasions only, once a year perhaps, and then Moloch had no exclusive bias for the children of the poor. This struggle about the legal restriction of the hours of labour raged the more fiercely since, apart from frightened avarice, it told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production controlled by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class. Hence the Ten Hours' Bill was not only a great practical success; it was the victory of a principle; it was the first time that in broad daylight the political economy of the middle class succumbed to the political economy of the working class.

But there was in store a still greater victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of property.* We speak of the co-operative movement, especially

* The German text reads: "die politische Ökonomie des Kapitals".—*Ed.*

the co-operative factories raised by the unassisted efforts of a few bold "hands". The value of these great social experiments cannot be over-rated. By deed, instead of by argument, they have shown that production on a large scale, and in accord with the behests of modern science, may be carried on without the existence of a class of masters employing a class of hands; that to bear fruit, the means of labour need not be monopolised as a means of dominion over, and of extortion against, the labouring man himself; and that, like slave labour, like serf, labour, hired labour is but a transitory and inferior* form, destined to disappear before associated labour plying its toil with a willing hand, a ready mind, and a joyous heart. In England, the seeds of the co-operative system were sown by Robert Owen; the working men's experiments, tried on the Continent, were, in fact, the practical upshot of the theories, not invented, but loudly proclaimed, in 1848.

At the same time, the experience of the period from 1848 to 1864 has proved** beyond doubt that, however excellent in principle, and however useful in practice, co-operative labour, if kept within the narrow circle of the casual efforts of private workmen, will never be able to arrest the growth in geometrical progression of monopoly, to free the masses, nor even to perceptibly lighten the burden of their miseries. It is perhaps for this very reason that plausible noblemen, philanthropic middle-class spouters, and even keen political economists, have all at once turned nauseously complimentary to the very co-operative labour system they had vainly tried to nip in the bud by deriding it as the Utopia of the dreamer, or stigmatising

* In the German text the word "gesellschaftliche" has been added.—*Ed.*

** In the German text the following has been added: "was die intelligentesten Führer der Arbeiterclasse in den Jahren 1851 und 1852 gegenüber der Kooperativbewegung in England bereits geltend machen".—*Ed.*

it as the sacrilege of the Socialist. To save the industrious masses, co-operative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions, and, consequently, to be fostered by national means. Yet, the lords of land and the lords of capital will always use their political privileges for the defence and perpetuation of their economical monopolies. So far from promoting, they will continue to lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour. Remember the sneer with which, last session, Lord Palmerston put down the advocates of the Irish Tenants' Right Bill. The House of Commons, cried he, is a house of landed proprietors.

To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganisation of the working men's party.

One element of success they possess—numbers; but numbers weigh only in the balance, if united by combination and led by knowledge. Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts. This thought prompted the working men of different countries assembled on September 28, 1864, in public meeting at St. Martin's Hall, to found the International Association.

Another conviction swayed that meeting.

If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence,* how are they to fulfil that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal

* In the German text the words "verschiedener Nationen" have been added.—*Ed.*

designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure? It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic. The shameless approval, mock sympathy, or idiotic indifference, with which the upper classes of Europe have witnessed the mountain fortress of the Caucasus falling a prey to, and heroic Poland being assassinated by, Russia; the immense and unresisted encroachments of that barbarous power, whose head is at St. Petersburg, and whose hands are in every Cabinet of Europe, have taught the working classes the duty to master themselves the mysteries of international politics; to watch the diplomatic acts of their respective Governments; to counteract them, if necessary, by all means in their power; when unable to prevent, to combine in simultaneous denunciations, and to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes.

Proletarians of all countries, Unite!

Written by K. Marx
in October 21-27, 1864

Printed according to the text of the pamphlet

Published in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London*, printed in London in November 1864. Author's translation in German was published in the newspaper *Social-Demokrat*, Nos. 2 and 3, December 21 and 30, 1864.

PROVISIONAL RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION[303]

Considering,

That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule;

That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;

That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labour in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

That the emancipation of labour is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, embracing all countries in which modern society exists, and depending for its solution on the concurrence, practical and theoretical, of the most advanced countries;

That the present revival of the working classes in the most industrious countries of Europe, while it raises a new

hope, gives solemn warning against a relapse into the old errors and calls for the immediate combination of the still disconnected movements;

For these reasons—

The undersigned members of the committee, holding its powers by resolution of the public meeting held on Sept. 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, London, have taken the steps necessary for founding the Working Men's International Association;

They declare that this International Association and all societies and individuals adhering to it, will acknowledge truth, justice, and morality, as the basis of their conduct towards each other, and towards all men, without regard to colour, creed, or nationality;

They hold it the duty of a man to claim the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every man who does his duty. No rights without duties, no duties without rights;

And in this spirit they have drawn up the following Provisional Rules of the International Association:—

1. This Association is established to afford a central medium of communication and co-operation between Working Men's Societies existing in different countries, and aiming at the same end, viz., the protection, advancement, and complete emancipation of the working classes.

2. The name of the Society shall be: "The Working Men's International Association".

3. In 1865 there shall meet in Belgium a General Working Men's Congress, consisting of representatives of such working men's societies as may have joined the International Association. The Congress will have to proclaim before Europe the common aspirations of the working classes, decide on the definitive rules of the International Association, consider the means required for its successful working, and appoint the Central Council of the Association. The General Congress is to meet once a year.

4. The Central Council shall sit in London, and consist of working men belonging to the different countries represented in the International Association. It shall from its own members elect the officers necessary for the transaction of business, such as a president, a treasurer, a general secretary, corresponding secretaries for the different countries, &c.

5. On its annual meetings, the General Congress shall receive a public account of the annual transactions of the Central Council. The Central Council, yearly appointed by the Congress, shall have power to add to the number of its members. In cases of urgency, it may convoke the General Congress before the regular yearly term.

6. The Central Council shall form an international agency between the different co-operating associations, so that the working men in one country be constantly informed of the movements of their class in every other country; that an inquiry into the social state of the different countries of Europe be made simultaneously, and under a common direction; that the questions of general interest mooted in one society be ventilated by all; and that when immediate practical steps should be needed, as, for instance, in case of international quarrels, the action of the associated societies be simultaneous and uniform. Whenever it seems opportune, the Central Council shall take the initiative of proposals to be laid before the different national or local societies.

7. Since the success of the working men's movement in each country cannot be secured but by the power of union and combination, while, on the other hand, the usefulness of the International Central Council must greatly depend on the circumstance whether it has to deal with a few national centres of working men's associations, or with a great number of small and disconnected local societies; the members of the International Association shall use their utmost efforts to combine the disconnected

working men's societies of their respective countries into national bodies, represented by central national organs. It is self-understood, however, that the appliance of this rule will depend upon the peculiar laws of each country, and that, apart from legal obstacles, no independent local society shall be precluded from directly corresponding with the London Central Council.

8. Until the meeting of the first Congress, the committee chosen on September 28th, 1864, will act as a Provisional Central Council, try to connect the different national working men's associations, enlist members in the United Kingdom, take the steps preparatory to the convocation of the General Congress, and discuss with the national and local societies the main questions to be laid before that Congress.

9. Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men.

10. While united in a perpetual bond of fraternal co-operation, the working men's societies, joining the International Association, will preserve their existent organisations intact.

Written by K. Marx between October 21 and 27, 1864

Printed according to the text of the pamphlet

Published in the pamphlet *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864, at a Public Meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London*, printed in London in November 1864

BERICHTIGUNG*[304]

Nachdem die in Nr. 30 ihres Blattes erwähnten zwei Anträge der Herren Beales und Leverson auf dem Londoner Polenmeeting vom 1. März angenommen worden waren, stellte *Herr Peter Fox* (Engländer), im Namen der „Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation" den Antrag,

„daß ein integrales und unabhängiges Polen eine unentbehrliche Bedingung eines demokratischen Europas ist, und daß solange diese Bedingung unerfüllt bleibt, revolutionäre Triumphe auf dem Kontinent nur kurzlebige Vorspiele verlängerter Perioden der Herrschaft der Konterrevolution sein können".

Nach einer kurzen historischen Skizze der Übel, die Europa infolge des Verlusts der Freiheit Polens befielen, und der Eroberungspolitik Rußlands, wies Herr P. Fox nach, daß die Haltung der *liberalen* Partei in dieser Frage nicht zusammenfalle mit der der *demokratischen* Gesellschaft, in deren Namen er spreche. Das Motto des konservativen Europas sei: Ein geknechtetes Europa mit einem geknechteten Polen als Basis. Das Motto der „Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation" sei dagegen: Ein freies Europa, gestützt auf ein freies und unabhängiges Polen.

Herr Eccarius (deutscher Arbeiter, Vizepräsident der „Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation") unterstützte den Antrag und setzte ausführlich Preußens Teilnahme an den verschiednen Teilungen Polens auseinander. Er schloß mit den Worten: „*Der Untergang der preußischen Monarchie*

* See Appendix, pp. 355-56.—Ed.

General Council's address to working men's societies with the form of application for those wishing to join the International Working Men's Association

International Working Men's Association.

CENTRAL COUNCIL,

18 GREEK STREET, LONDON, W.

—•—

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5s. No contributions are *demanded* from Societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the *efforts* of the *Association worthy of support*.

The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules, which fully explain the principles and aims of the Association, to any Society applying for them: and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum, with 1d. for Card of Membership; which may be obtained, with every information concerning the Association, by applying to the Honorary Secretary, or at the Central Council's Meetings, which are held every Tuesday Evening, at 18 Greek Street, from Eight to Ten o'clock.

E. DUPONT, *Corresponding Secretary for* France
K. MARX, " " Germany
E. HOLTORF, " " Poland.
H. JUNG, " " Switzerland
L. LEWIS, " " America.

G. ODGER, *President of Central Council*
G. W. WHEELER, *Hon. Treasurer*
W. R. CREMER, *Hon. Gen. Sec.*

FORM OF APPLICATION

FOR SOCIETIES WISHING TO JOIN THE

International Working Men's Association.

We, the Members of the _____

_____ assembled

at the _____

declare our entire concurrence with the principles and aims of the International Working Men's Association, and pledge ourselves to disseminate and reduce them to practice; and as an earnest of our sincerity we hereby apply to the Central Council to be admitted into the fraternal bond as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

Signed on behalf of the Members, _____ in number.

_____ *Secretary.*

_____ *President.*

_____ 186

ist die conditio sine qua [non] für Deutschlands Herstellung und Polens Wiederherstellung."

Herr Le Lubez, französisches Mitglied der *„Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation"*, sprach ebenfalls für den Antrag, der *einstimmig und unter anhaltendem Beifallsruf des Meetings angenommen ward.*

Die *Daily News* und ein paar andre „liberale" Londoner Tagesblätter *unterdrückten* diesen Teil des Berichts aus Ärger über den Triumph der *„Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation"*, ohne deren Mitwirkung, nebenbei bemerkt, das Polenmeeting zu St. Martens Hall überhaupt nicht stattgefunden hätte. Ich ersuche Sie im Namen der „Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation" um Aufnahme dieser Berichtigung.

London etc.

H. Jung, korrespondierender Sekretär der „Int. Arbeiterass." für die Schweiz.

Written by K. Marx on April 13, 1865

Published with slight alterations in the newspaper *Der weiße Adler*, No. 48, April 22, 1865

Printed according to K. Marx's manuscript

ADDRESS FROM THE WORKING MEN'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON[305]

TO ANDREW JOHNSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Sir,

The demon of the "peculiar institution", for the supremacy of which the South rose in arms, would not allow his worshippers to honourably succumb in the open field. What he had begun in treason, he must needs end in infamy. As Philip II's war for the Inquisition bred a Gérard, thus Jefferson Davis's pro-slavery war a Booth.

It is not our part to call words of sorrow and horror, while the heart of two worlds heaves with emotion. Even the sycophants who, year after year, and day by day, stick to their Sisyphus work of morally assassinating Abraham Lincoln, and the great Republic he headed, stand now aghast at this universal outburst of popular feeling, and rival with each other to strew rhetorical flowers on his open grave. They have now at last found out that he was a man, neither to be browbeaten by adversity, nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by blind haste, slowly maturing his steps, never retracing them, carried away by no surge of popular favour, disheartened by no slackening of the popular pulse, tempering stern acts by the gleams of a kind heart, illuminating scenes dark with passion by the smile of humour, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as Heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandiloquence of pomp and state; in one word, one of the rare men

who succeed in becoming great, without ceasing to be good. Such, indeed, was the modesty of this great and good man, that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr.

To be singled out by the side of such a chief, the second victim to the infernal gods of slavery, was an honour due to Mr. Seward. Had he not, at a time of general hesitation, the sagacity to foresee and the manliness to foretell "the irrepressible conflict"? Did he not, in the darkest hours of that conflict, prove true to the Roman duty to never despair of the Republic and its stars? We earnestly hope that he and his son will be restored to health, public activity, and well-deserved honours within much less than "90 days".

After a tremendous civil war, but which, if we consider its vast dimensions, and its broad scope, and compare it to the Old World's 100 years' wars, and 30 years' wars, and 23 years' wars, can hardly be said to have lasted 90 days. Yours, Sir, has become the task to uproot by the law what has been felled by the sword, to preside over the arduous work of political reconstruction and social regeneration. A profound sense of your great mission will save you from any compromise with stern duties. You will never forget that, to initiate the new era of the emancipation of labour, the American people devolved the responsibilities of leadership upon two men of labour—the one Abraham Lincoln, the other Andrew Johnson.

Signed, on behalf of the International Working Men's Association, London, May 13th, 1865, by the Central Council—

Charles Kaub, Edward Coulson, F. Lessner, Carl Pfänder, N. P. Hansen, Karl Schapper, William Dell, George Lochner, George Eccarius, John Osborne, P. Petersen, A. Janks, H. Klimosch,

John Weston, H. Bolleter, B. Lucraft, J. Buckley, Peter Fox, N. Salvatella, George Howell, Bordage, A. Valltier, Robert Shaw, J. H. Longmaid, W. Morgan, G. W. Wheeler, J. D. Nieass, W. C. Worley, D. Stainsby, F. de Lassassie, J. Carter, Emile Holtorp, Secretary for Poland; *Carl Marx*, Secretary for Germany; *H. Jung*, Secretary for Switzerland; *E. Dupont*, Secretary for France; *J. Whitlock*, Financial Secretary; *G. Odger*, President; *W. R. Cremer*, Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Written by K. Marx between May 2 and 9, 1865

Published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 188, May 20, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper text

TO TRADE, FRIENDLY, OR ANY WORKING MEN'S SOCIETIES[306]

International Working Men's Association
Central Council
18, Greek Street, London, W.

Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only condition being that the Members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5s. No contributions are *demanded* from Societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the *efforts* of the *Association worthy of support.*

The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules, which fully explain the principles and aims of the Association, to any Society applying for them; and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum, with 1d. for Card of Membership; which may be obtained, with every information concerning the Association, by applying to the Honorary Secretary, or at the Central Council's Meetings, which are held every Tuesday Evening, at 18, Greek Street, From Eight to Ten o'clock.

E. DUPONT, Corresponding Secretary for France.
K. MARX, ,, ,, Germany.

E. HOLTORP, Corresponding Secretary for Poland.
H. JUNG, Corresponding Secretay for Switzerland.
L. LEWIS, Corresponding Secretary for America.
G. ODGER, President of Central Council.
G. W. WHEELER, Hon. Treasurer.
W. R. CREMER, Hon. Gen. Sec.

FORM OF APPLICATION
FOR SOCIETIES WISHING TO JOIN THE
INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

We, the Members of the _____

_____ assembled

at the _____

declare our entire concurrence with the principles and aims of the International Working Men's Association, and pledge ourselves to disseminate and reduce them to practice; and as an earnest of our sincerity we hereby apply to the Central Council to be admitted into the fraternal bond as an affiliated Branch of the Association.

Signed on behalf of the Members, _____ in number.

_____ *Secretary*

_____ *President*

_____ 186

Written in June 1865

Published as a leaflet in London in the summer of 1865

Printed according to the leaflet

TO THE WORKING MEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND[307]

Fellow Working Men!

It is a fact that amongst the thousands of daily and weekly newspapers existing at the present day, those that advocate the interests of the working class and defend the cause of labour might be counted at your fingers' ends. Nor is this to be wondered at when you bear in mind that, almost without exception, they are the property of capitalists, established for their own use, either for political party purposes or as commercial speculations. Thus, the publicity of matters concerning our political enfranchisement, our social emancipation, or our material well-being as hired wages labourers depends to a great extent on sufferance, and when now and then an editor, in his superior wisdom, takes it into his head to side with us, it is frequently doubtful whether decided opposition would not be preferable to the favour bestowed. This is a very unsatisfactory state of things for a body of men like the working men of this country with high and well-founded aspirations to raise themselves in the political and social scale.

Benjamin Franklin is reported to have said, "If you want a thing done, and well done, do it yourself", and this is precisely what we must do. If your expected elevation is not to prove a delusion and a mockery—we must take the work of our salvation into our own hands, and this can only be done by acquiring a more prominent position in the press and on the platform than we have hitherto done.

In order that we may guard against deceitful friends, we require a press of our own. To this end we must establish and support as many newspapers and periodicals

as we can, wherein we ourselves must advocate and defend our own cause against open antagonists and wily friends. In the press, as well as on the platform, we must qualify ourselves to hold our own against all comers; for then, and not till then, shall we succeed in bettering our condition.

To accomplish this, a number of well-known advocates of working-class interests have established a Limited Liability Association, entitled "The Industrial Newspaper Company", with a nominal capital of £1,000, divided into shares of £1 each; 2s. 6d. to be paid on application, and 2s. 6d. on allotment per share.

The Company have succeeded in purchasing the copyright, goodwill, &c., of the *Miner and Workman's Advocate*, which they have resolved to turn into a first-class newspaper, not only for miners, but for all branches of industry—a newspaper in which all political, social, and industrial questions, whether they affect the whole or only a portion of the working class, shall be amply discussed.

We, the undersigned, on behalf of the Company, invite all lovers of freedom who have the welfare of their fellow beings at heart to co-operate in the good and arduous task the Company have undertaken, by taking up shares, helping to increase the circulation, &c., so that the working man's press may soon be able to occupy an honourable position, and take an active and dignified part in the struggles of the day.

Application for shares may be made immediately, by letter, enclosing 2s. 6d. for each share applied for.

G. ODGER, President
E. S. MANTZ, Secretary *pro tem.*
G. W. WHEELER, Treasurer

Written in the latter part of August 1865

Published in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 130, September 2, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper text

THE INDUSTRIAL NEWSPAPER COMPANY (LIMITED)[308]

Capital £1,000, in Shares of £1 each. Deposit 2s. 6d. per Share.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mr. G. Odger, Chairman	Mr. Nieass
— W. R. Cremer	— Jung
— R. Applegarth	— Christmas
— Coulson	Dr. Marx
— H. Turff	Mr. Weston
— Eccarius	— Le Lubez
— W. Stainsby	— Kaub
— Worley	— Morgan
— Facey	— Lessner

Treasurer—Mr. E. Coulson
Secretary—Mr. Edwin Shelley Mantz

PROSPECTUS

The object of the promoters of the above Company is to supply a great want of the age—to establish a Newspaper devoted to the interests of the Working Classes, and to secure for them a truthful exponent of their wrongs, and a faithful champion of their rights.

To further this object, the Board of Directors are happy to state that they have succeeded in purchasing the *Miner* Newspaper, which is now incorporated with the *Work-*

man's Advocate, and they have also made arrangements with some of the most advanced writers to contribute to its columns.

The well-known character of the men connected with its management renders it needless to indulge in professions. Suffice it to say, that it will be Democratic in Politics—and ever prepared to maintain principle against expediency.

To those who have been accustomed to view the efforts of the poor as a series of vain struggles of Labour against Capital, it may be observed that those efforts have failed, not from a want of justice in the objects to be attained, but from the want of a legitimate organ to influence public opinion. If an Oxford Professor or an enlightened writer have occasionally come forward to champion the creed of the downtrodden millions, his voice has been but the echo of human agony, heard amidst the clamour of contending interests, and silenced by the diatribes of newspaper hirelings. To say the Newspaper Press represents public opinion, is to administer insult to intelligent men. It is the property of speculators, political leaders, large contractors, and railway directors. Can we expect truth through the channels of falsehood—light from the regions of darkness, or fairness from those whose business it is to calumniate, pervert, and deceive? Certainly not. Hence the necessity for an organ that shall be beyond the taint of corruption, invulnerable against attacks, and inspired by men who feel it is their mission to teach the truths they have acquired by hard toil and bitter suffering.

The *Workman's Advocate* boldly takes its stand upon this necessity. Dignified and fearless, as becomes the champion of the masses, it requires the aid of no dishonest scribes or unprincipled adventurers. It will look to Labour and Labour's friends for its associates. The class that has produced an Elliott, Clare, and Burns—that has given a Defoe to fiction, a Stephenson to science, and a Shake-

speare to literature, still claims within its ranks many a noble son who can wield the pen as well as the shuttle or the hammer.

An Industrial Newspaper Company is an application of the Co-operative principle—a sign of the times that the men of action are likewise men of thought, who will tell their own "unvarnished tale", in an organ of their own.

On the great questions of the day the *Workman's Advocate* will pronounce a decided opinion. With the view of promoting the complete political and social enfranchisement of the toiling millions, it will energetically support Manhood Suffrage, vote by ballot, representation based upon numbers, direct taxation, the nationalisation of the land, the development of co-operative self-employment to national dimensions, reduction of the number of the hours of labour, Saturday half holiday movements, political, international, and trade associations, everything that tends to advance the cause of human progress.

Originated by the representatives of Labour, to the sons of Labour must it chiefly look for encouragement and support; but as good men are to be found in every station of life, it is believed that many ardent lovers of freedom who have means at their command, will derive a pleasure in co-operating with our efforts. Aid from this source will be generous, and may be gracefully tendered, as it will be gratefully received.

Firm in the faith of those political truths, for the utterance of which so many noble martyrs have suffered, and conscious that the period has arrived when revolutions must be effected by mental effort, and not by physical violence, the conductors of the *Workman's Advocate* will never descend to scurrility or vulgar abuse, but seek to prove the justice of its claims by the soundness of its arguments, and the charity of its spirit.

Enrolling amongst its literary associates some of the brightest intellects of all countries, its articles upon

Foreign Affairs will be the matured opinions of profound thinkers; and from its close connections with the International Working Men's Association, which has crorrespondents in all parts of the world, this department will be one of its most valuable features.

Upon domestic topics the result of the week will be faithfully recorded in a well-written Summary, and the various movements of political bodies will be chronicled and commented fairly on.

On all questions affecting the rights of Labour the platform will be its own, and every working man will feel that at least the columns of one journal will be open to him and those who advocate his cause.

To bring the proprietorship of the *Workman's Advocate* within the reach of the masses, the Shares are being issued at the sum of £1 each; and to make the mode of payment as easy as possible, the Directors have determined to accept deposits of 2s. 6d. per share.

(By order of the Directors)
E. S. MANTZ, Secretary

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR SHARES

Please to allot me _____ Shares in the Industrial Newspaper Company, for which I send _____ as my first deposit, authorising the Secretary to instruct the district collector to wait upon me weekly.

Name _____
Address _____

To Mr. E. S. Mantz, Secretary,
Rose Cottage, 60, Downham Road, Kingsland.

Written in the latter half of August 1865

Printed according to the newspaper text

Published in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 132, September 16, 1865

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[309]

Central Council:—18, Greek Street, London, W.

On the 25th September and following days

A CONFERENCE

of delegates from the principal branches of the Association in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, will be held with the members of the Central Council, when the following programme will be discussed:

1.—Questions relating to the Congress.*

2.—Questions relating to the organisation of the Association.

3.—Combination of effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between Capital and Labour.

4.—Trades' Unions—their past, present, and future.

5.—Co-operative labour.

6.—Direct and indirect taxation.

7.—Reduction of the number of hours of labour.

8.—Female and children's labour.

9.—The Muscovite invasion of Europe, and the re-establishment of an integral and independent Poland.

10.—Standing Armies: their effects upon the interests of the productive classes.

* It is contemplated (next year) calling a general congress of representatives from the various working men's associations in Europe and America.

Trade, friendly, or any working men's associations, are invited to send delegates; the Conference will assemble at six o'clock in the evening.

On the 28th September

A SOIREE

will be held in St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, to celebrate the foundation of the Association; to welcome the Continental delegates; and to propose an address to the people of America, congratulating them on the abolition of slavery, and the triumph of the Republic.

The entertainment will consist of a tea; choruses by the German Working Men's Choral Society; addresses by the Continental delegates, and other friends; selections by the band of the Italian Working Men's Association; dancing, &c.

Tea on the table at half past seven.

Tickets for the entire entertainment 1s.

Tickets to admit after tea, half past eight, 6d. To be had of any member of the Central Council; at 4, Charles Street, Northampton Square, Clerkenwell; 56, Drury Lane; 25, Hatfield Street, Blackfriars; 18, Greek Street, on Tuesday evenings, from 8 to 10 o'clock; 10 and 11, Bedford Street, Strand; and of the Hon. Gen. Secretary, W. R. Cremer, 31, Gt. Titchfield Street, W.

Written in September 1865

Published as a leaflet in London in September 1865

Printed according to the leaflet

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[310]

Central Council:—18, Greek Street, London, W.

PROGRAMME OF SECOND SOIREE,
AT ST. MARTIN'S HALL, LONG ACRE,
On the 28th September, 1865,

To celebrate the foundation of the Association; to welcome the Continental delegates; and to congratulate the people of America on the abolition of slavery, and the triumph of the Republic.

Tea on the table at half past seven.

During the tea the band of the Italian Working Men's Association will perform the following selections:

1st.—Kossuth March. 2nd.—Capriccio per Cornets and Euphonium by Signor Mora.
3rd.—Guards Valse

At half past 8 Citizen ODGER, President of the Central Council, will take the chair and open the proceedings; after which an address to the People of America will be proposed by Citizens CREMER and JONES.

Address in French, by Citizen TOLAIN, delegate from Paris.

Address in German, by Citizen BECKER, delegate from the German Association.

The German Chorus led by Citizen KRIESS will sing:

1st.—The Hunters' Pleasure . . . by G. A. Astholz.
2nd.—The German Song . . . by T. W. Wollinwoda.
3rd.—The Workshop . . . by W. Hohn.

Address by Citizen DUPLEIX, delegate from Switzerland.
Address by Citizen PAEPE, delegate from Belgium.
Address by Citizen BOBCZYNSKI, delegate from the Polish Association.
The German Chorus will sing:

The Watch on the Rhine . . . by Schmitz.
W. A. B. C. . . . by Carl Wollner.
The Cross on the Brook . . . by Wrentyer.
The Marseillaise . . . by Rouget de Lisle.
Reading by Citizen Odger (Honesty) . . . by Eliza Cook.

At half past 10 dancing will commence:

1st.—Palermo Polka . . . . . Canti
2nd.—Quadrille
3rd.—Schottische
4th.—Valse . . . . . Godfrey
5th.—Lancers . . . . . Albert
6th.—Mazurka
7th.—Caledonians . . . . . Cootes
8th.—Varsovienne . . . . . Tonatta
9th.—Polka Italia . . . . . Martini

An interval of 20 minutes for refreshment and promenade.

PART II

1st.—Parisian Quadrille
2nd.—Schottische
3rd.—Lancers . . . . . Albert
4th.—Valse . . . . . Godfrey
5th.—Polka la bella . . . . Gigogine Giorgi
6th.—Caledonians . . . . . Cootes
7th.—Mazurka
8th.—Quadrille
9th.—Varsovienne and Gallop

Cards of membership can be obtained in the Committee room, under the platform. Enter by the left hand door. FEMALES are eligible as members. Annual Subscription, 1s. 1d. Address and Rules, 1d.

Wines, spirits, ales, stout, tea, coffee, &c., at tavern prices.

The entire arrangements are under the management of Citizen CREMER, to whom enquiries can be addressed in the Committee room.

Published as a leaflet in London in September 1865

Printed according to the leaflet

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA[311]

Citizens of the Great Republic!

Again we take the liberty of addressing you. Not this time in sympathy and sadness, but in words of congratulation.

Had we not deeply sympathised with you in your hours of sorrow, when enemies, both at home and abroad, were earnestly seeking the overthrow of your Government, and those principles of universal justice upon which it is based, we should not now have dared to congratulate you upon your success.

But we have never swerved in our fidelity to your cause, which also is the cause of our common humanity; nor did we fear its ultimate triumph, even in the darkest shadow of its adversity.

Firmly attached to, and believing in those principles of equality and common brotherhood for which you drew the sword, so did we believe that when the battle should have ended, and the victory have been won, that it would again be returned to its scabbard, peace restored to your borders, and rejoicing to the whole of your people.

Our anticipations have been justified, by the results. Your struggle is the only example on record in which the Government fought for the people's liberty, against a section of its own citizens.

We have first to congratulate you that the war is ended, and the Union preserved. The stars and stripes once rudely

torn down by your own sons, again flutter in the breeze, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, never again, we hope, to be insulted by your own children, or again to wave over fields of carnage, either by civil commotion or foreign war.

And may those misguided citizens who have displayed courage on the battle-field for an unhallowed cause, show equal avidity to aid in healing the breaches they have made, and in restoring peace to their common country.

We have next to congratulate you that the cause of these years of suffering is now removed—Slavery is no more. That dark spot on your otherwise fair escutcheon is blotted out for ever. No more shall the salesman's hammer barter human flesh and blood in your market places, causing humanity to shudder at its cold barbarity.

Your noblest blood has been shed to wipe out these stains; desolation has spread its black pall over your land in atonement for its past history.

To-day you are free, purified by past suffering. A brighter future dawns upon your glorious Republic, teaching this lesson to the old world—That a Government of the People and by the People, is for the People; and not for a privileged few.

Since we have had the honour of expressing sympathy with your sufferings, a word of encouragement for your efforts, and of congratulation for the results, permit us also to add a word of counsel for the future.

As injustice to a section of your people has produced such direful results, let that cease. Let your citizens of to-day be declared free and equal, without reserve.

If you fail to give them citizens' rights, while you demand citizens' duties, there will yet remain a struggle for the future which may again stain your country with your people's blood.

The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon your efforts at re-construction, and enemies are ever ready

to sound the knell of the downfall of republican institutions when the slightest chance is given.

We warn you then, as brothers in the common cause, to remove every shackle from freedom's limb, and your victory will be complete.

Written in September 1865
Published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 136, October 14, 1865

Printed according to the newspaper text

INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[312]

Central Council, 18, Bouverie Street,
Fleet Street, London, E.C.

AN APPEAL
FROM THE BRITISH MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL TO THEIR FELLOW WORKING MEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

Brothers,

On the evening of the 28th of September, 1864, at a public meeting of the working men of London, held in St. Martin's Hall, a deputation from the working men of Paris attended for the purpose of laying before the meeting the answer of the French workmen to an address which they had received from their English brethren.[313] At that meeting a council was elected, charged with the high mission of forming an association which should unite in a bond of fraternal co-operation the working men of all countries. The Council's first duty was to draw up and issue an address, explanatory of the objects contemplated by the founders of the association; also to frame a code of laws for its government; this was speedily done, since which time, the Council has been engaged in the work of propagandism, and already several English societies have subscribed to its principles, and joined the Association. In France, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium, they have been still more successful, several thousands in those countries having been enrolled as members. In the month of September last, a conference of delegates representing the principal branches of the Association, was held in

London. At that conference, it was unanimously agreed to hold at Geneva in the month of May next, a congress of delegates from the branches of the Association in Europe, for the purpose of discussing the following questions:

1. Organisation of the Association. 2. Combination of the effort by means of the Association in the different national struggles between Capital and Labour. 3. Trades' Unions—their past, present, and future. 4. Co-operative Labour. 5. Direct and Indirect Taxation. 6. Reduction of the Hours of Labour. 7. Female and Children's Labour. 8. Standing Armies—their effects upon the interests of the productive classes. 9. That it is imperatively necessary to annihilate the influence of Russia in Europe by applying to Poland the right of every people to dispose of itself, and to re-establish that country upon its native democratic basis. 10. The religious idea: its relation to the social, political, and intellectual development of the people.

Our immediate object in appealing to you is to induce you to assist us in making that Congress thoroughly representative of the working men of Great Britain. This may be done in the following manner:—First by joining the Association* either as individual members, or where you belong to organised bodies, by joining in your corporate capacity. Secondly, by your discussing the great

* Trade, friendly, or any working men's societies are invited to join in their corporate capacity, the only conditions being that the members subscribe to the principles of the Association, and pay for the declaration of their enrolment (which is varnished and mounted on canvas and roller), the sum of 5 s. No contributions are demanded from societies joining, it being left to their means and discretion to contribute or not, or as they may from time to time deem the efforts of the Association worthy of support. The Central Council will be pleased to send the Address and Rules to any society applying for them; and, if within the London district, deputations will gladly attend to afford any further information that may be required. Societies joining are entitled to send a representative to the Central Council. The amount of contribution for individual members is 1s. per annum, with 1d. for card of membership.

questions contained in the programme, and appointing a delegate to represent you at the Congress; or, where the latter is impracticable, by sending your views and instructions to the Central Council. Thirdly, by assisting with your contributions to defray the expenses necessarily attendant on assembling such a congress. Kings, Queens, princes, and statesmen, have had their congresses to discuss questions affecting the privileges of their orders, and why should not the toiling masses have theirs, and before the whole world discuss their grievances and proclaim their remedies. Help us, then, in the noble enterprise, help us to bring about a common understanding between the peoples of all countries, so that in the struggles of labour with unprincipled capitalists they may not be able to execute the threat which they so often indulge in, of using the working men of one country as instruments to defeat the just demands of the workmen in another. This has been done in the past, and seeds of discord and national antipathies have been thereby created and perpetuated. A part of our mission is to prevent the recurrence of such evils, and you can help us to achieve our aims. You often vote money from your funds in the most liberal manner for the support of men on strike, help us then to initiate a movement which in its development and ultimate triumph will render strikes unnecessary.

Signed by the British members of the Central Council: *Buckley, Carter, Cope, Coulson, Donatti, Dell, Gardner, Howell, Johnson, Longmaid, Le Lubez, Leno, Lucraft, Morgan, Nieass, Osborne, Shaw, Stainsby, Side, Shearman, Williams, Weston, Wheeler, Worley, Hales.*

G. Odger, President of Central Council
W. Dell, Financial Secretary
G. W. Wheeler, Treasurer
W. R. Cremer, Hon. Gen. Secretary.

Contributions can be sent to the Financial Secretary, W. Dell, 18, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street; money orders payable to him at the Strand Post Office. Subscription sheets, Addresses, Rules, or any information will be gladly given on application to the Hon. Gen. Secretary at the above address. All subscriptions will be acknowledged in the *Commonwealth*.

Drawn up by Cremer in January 1866

Printed according to the leaflet

Published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 152, February 3, 1866, and as a separate pamphlet

MONSIEUR LE REDACTEUR DE *L'ECHO DE VERVIERS*[*314]

18, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London

Monsieur,

Nous comptons sur votre esprit de justice et sur votre désir «de répandre la vérité, la lumière parmi les classes ouvrières» pour insérer la lettre suivante, dont copie a été envoyée au citoyen V.**

Votre dévoué serviteur,

JUNG

Monsieur V.,

L'*Echo de Verviers* dans son n° 293, à la date du 16 décembre 1865, a publié un article ayant pour but ostensible d'éclairer les travailleurs sur l'esprit qui anime les membres du Conseil central de l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs* ; le citoyen Le Lubez qui l'a présenté au conseil, (comme il en avait été chargé), a reconnu, que quoiqu'anonyme, cet article était dû à votre plume.

Après en avoir été saisi, le Conseil central, dans son assemblée du 9 janvier 1866, a adopté la résolution suivante : Le citoyen V. est sommé d'établir les faits qu'il avance ; en cas de refus ou d'incapacité, il sera rayé de l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs*. Votre article

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* See Appendix, pp. 357-66.—*Ed.*

** Vésinier.—*Ed.*

s'écartant entièrement de la vérité, le Conseil central a cru de son devoir de rétablir les faits dans toute leur intégrité ; le Conseil central a la conscience de sa mission, du mandat qu'on lui a confié ; il ne repoussera pas les calomnies par des calomnies, ni les mensonges par des mensonges ; il ne s'abaissera pas à des accusations personnelles, mais il laissera, à ceux qui sont accusés le soin de se justifier eux-mêmes ; il ne s'arrêtera devant aucun obstacle et, malgré les faux amis, il ne laissera derrière lui ni tache ni souillure.

Entr'autres, les passages suivants méritent principalement d'être signalés :

I

"Bientôt tous les membres français et italiens donnèrent leur démission motivée sur la présence au sein du comité et sur les intrigues de MM. Tolain et Fribourg" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Sur 9 membres français, deux seulement se retirèrent savoir : MM. Denoual et Le Lubez et même ce dernier rentra peu de temps après ; quant aux Italiens, un seul (le citoyen Wolff) motiva sa démission « non sur la présence au sein du comité et sur les intrigues de MM. Tolain et Fribourg ; « mais sur une résolution du Conseil central présentée par le sous-comité, concernant le citoyen Lefort, * en faveur de laquelle il avait lui-même voté, quelques heures auparavant, comme membre du sous-comité.

II

"Le comité continua à fonctionner en leur absence jusqu'à aujourd'hui" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Sur deux membres français qui se retirèrent, le citoyen Le Lubez, ex-secrétaire pour la France, rentra peu de temps après, comme délégué de la section de Deptford ; donc le comité ne fonctionna pas longtemps en son absence.

* See pp. 79-80 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

III

"Il (le comité) publia un Manifeste et un règlement provisoire, le premier dû à la plume d'un publiciste éminent de race latine, etc." (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Le Manifeste et le règlement furent publiés avant la retraite des deux membres français et des membres italiens ; le Manifeste n'est pas dû à la plume d'un publiciste éminent de race latine, * mais d'un écrivain de race teutone ; le Manifeste fut adopté unanimement par tous les membres du Conseil central, y compris les Français et les Italiens, avant même que le publiciste de race latine en eût eu connaissance ; loin d'en être l'auteur, s'il en avait eu connaissance, il l'aurait fait opposer, à cause de ses tendances antibourgeoises, par les membres italiens ; mais, arrivé trop tard, il ne réussit qu'à empêcher que ces derniers n'en fissent la traduction en italien ; il est évident que vous n'avez jamais lu ce Manifeste et que le publiciste éminent de race latine ne vous saura pas bon gré de ce que vous lui en ayez attribué la paternité.

IV

"A-t-il (le comité) poursuivi le but qu'il s'était proposé, l'émancipation complète des travailleurs ?

Non ! au lieu de cela il a perdu un an de temps précieux pour aboutir aux conférences et au programme du congrès qui doit avoir lieu à Genève, etc." (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Le Conseil central ne commença guère à fonctionner que vers l'année 1865. Donc 9 mois pour arriver aux conférences ; il employa ces 9 mois « de temps précieux » à établir des relations internationales et à étendre ses relations en Angleterre. Chaque semaine, pendant plusieurs mois, des députations composées de membres du Conseil, furent envoyées auprès des différentes Sociétés ouvrières

* Reference is to G. Mazzini and K. Marx.—*Ed.*

pour les engager à se joindre à l'Association. En voici le résultat: Lors des conférences, l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs* comptait: En Angleterre 14 000 adhérents ; entre autres, les Sociétés si importantes des cordonniers et des maçons s'étaient affiliées ; les hommes les plus influents et les plus éminents de ces immenses organisations ouvrières (Trades Unions) étaient membres du Conseil central ; un journal était fondé dont le titre ! (*Workman's Advocate*) indique sa mission, un journal qui toujours et partout défend les intérêts de la classe ouvrière.

L'Association pour le suffrage universel en Angleterre (Reform League) était fondée ; association qui compte ses membres par milliers et dont le secrétaire et la majorité des membres du Conseil exécutif sont choisis dans notre sein.

En France, plusieurs milliers d'adhérents.

A Paris, une administration forte, active et à l'abri de tout reproche avec plus de deux mille adhérents ; des ramifications à Lyon, Rouen, Nantes, Caen, Neufchâteau, Pont-l'Evêque, Pantin, St. Denis, Lisieux, Puteaux, Belleville, etc., etc., etc.

En Suisse. — A Genève, une administration composée des meilleurs éléments avec 500 adhérents et des ramifications à Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux et dans le canton de Neuchâtel.

En Belgique, le mouvement se formait sous les meilleurs auspices et le Comité central avait lieu de croire que l'Espagne ne tarderait pas à la suivre.

V

"Non ! il (le comité) n'a pas même fait venir à ses conférences de septembre 1865 un délégué de l'Allemagne, qui compte tant de Sociétés d'ouvriers, pas un seul non plus des Sociétés si nombreuses de l'Angleterre, pas un seul de celles de l'Italie, si bien organisées, pas un seul de celles qui existent en France; car Tolain, Fri-

bourg et Cie, ne sont les délégués d'aucune Société d'ouvriers français, ils se sont délégués eux-mêmes, ils n'ont fourni la preuve d'aucun mandat dont ils aient été revêtus. Loin d'être les délégués d'associations ouvrières françaises, leur présence a été la seule cause qui a empêché celles-ci d'envoyer des délégués aux conférences de Londres. Nous pourrions citer plusieurs d'entr'elles qui ont refusé pour ce motif d'y adhérer, etc., etc." (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

En principe, seules les sections de l'Association internationale des ouvriers et les Sociétés qui avaient adhéré à ses principes pouvaient être représentées aux conférences ; l'état de nos finances nous enjoignait de limiter le nombre des délégués au plus bas minimum.

De l'Allemagne, qui compte tant de Sociétés d'ouvriers, les seules qui auraient pu être représentées sont les Sociétés de consommation, fondées par Schulze-Delitzsch, et celles de Lassalle, A.D.A.V. ; les premières, à l'insu de leurs membres, n'étaient que l'instrument de la bourgeoisie libérale de Prusse dont Schulze-Delitzsch est un des matadores ; celles de Lassalle étaient et sont encore aujourd'hui en complète dissolution ; une partie s'était coalisée avec Bismarck, tandis que l'autre partie, qui ne s'était pas encore reconstituée, reconnaissait pour chef J. Ph. Becker, délégué suisse aux conférences ; pendant la séance des conférences, ce dernier reçut un mandat de la part des ouvriers des fabriques de Solingen, tandis que la Société allemande de Genève D.A.B.V. était aussi représentée par lui ; la Société Allemande de Londres D.A.B.V. fût représentée par ses délégués auprès du Conseil central.

Outre les entraves que les ouvriers rencontrent dans la formation de Sociétés en Allemagne, la législation leur défend encore d'appartenir à des Sociétés étrangères ; cependant quelques sections furent formées dans le Nord et le Sud de l'Allemagne.

En présence de toutes ces difficultés, est-il extraordinaire que l'Allemagne n'ait pas été aussi bien représentée que le Conseil central aurait pu l'espérer ?

Les Sociétés anglaises furent fort bien représentées par les membres anglais du Conseil central : Odger, le président, est secrétaire du Trades Council (conseil suprême de toutes les Trades Unions de l'Angleterre) ; Cremer, le secrétaire général, est membre du Conseil exécutif des charpentiers ; Howell, secrétaire de la Reform League et membre du Conseil exécutif des maçons, et Coulson, secrétaire de cette dernière Société, sont tous deux délégués par elle auprès du Conseil central ; Wheeler, gérant d'une assurance mutuelle sur la vie, est membre du Conseil central.

Les cordonniers (forts de 5 500 membres) sont représentés par Odger, Margan et Cope, tandis que Shaw représente les peintres en bâtiments, etc., etc.

Le citoyen Wolff, qui assista au Congrès des ouvriers Italiens, à Naples, en 1865 et les autres membres italiens du Conseil, quoiqu'ils prissent une part très active aux travaux du Conseil central, ne réussirent cependant jamais à faire un seul adhérent en Italie ; c'est une source de regrets pour le Conseil central de voir, que les membres italiens, même avant leur retraite ne jouirent pas assez de la confiance « de ces Sociétés si bien organisées de l'Italie » pour engager une seule d'entr'elles à se joindre à l'Association internationale.

« Pas une seule de celles qui existent en France, car Tolain, Fribourg et Cie ne sont les délégués d'aucune Société française, ils se sont délégués eux-mêmes ».

Les membres de la Section Lyonaise regrettaient que le manque de fonds les empêchât d'envoyer des délégués, mais de même que ceux de la Section de Caen et ceux de la Section de Neufchâteau, ils envoyèrent un manifeste par lequel ils participaient aux travaux du Conseil central.

Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin et Varlin, furent nommés au suffrage universel par la Section de Paris ; cette Section est composée d'ouvriers de tous les métiers et de plusieurs centaines de membres de l'Association du Crédit au Travail. Beluze, gérant de cette association, en fait aussi par-

tie ; tous ont pris ou ont pu prendre part à l'élection des délégués ; Limousin, un des quatre délégués de Paris, est secrétaire de la gérance du journal l'*Association*, l'organe international des Sociétés coopératives.

M. Clariol fut délégué par la Société des typographes de Paris ; sur l'invitation du Conseil central MM. Schily, Dumesnil-Marigny et autres vinrent de Paris pour assister aux conférences auxquelles ils prirent une part très active.

Quelles sont les autres Sociétés dont vous parlez qui furent empêchées par la présence de Tolain, Fribourg et C^ie^ d'envoyer des délégués aux conférences ? Serait-ce la Société du Dix Décembre[315] ? la seule qui soit autorisée sous le présent régime en France.

Le compte rendu des conférences parut dans tous les journaux libéraux de Paris, sans évoquer une seule plainte ou une seule réclamation de la part des membres de l'Association internationale ou des Sociétés coopératives de France ; le mandat dont les délégués étaient revêtus a été vérifié et approuvé par le sous-comité du Conseil central.

Dès le début des conférences, les délégués parisiens rendirent un compte détaillé et fidèle sur leur administration et la gestion de leurs finances, à l'appui duquel ils mirent leurs livres et toute leur correspondance à la disposition du Conseil central ; le Conseil central peut se féliciter sur l'efficacité des moyens employés par l'administration de Paris pour la fondation et la propagation de l'Association internationale en France.

VI

"La Belgique en a envoyé un très-capable, le citoyen De Paepe, mais c'est le seul pour ce pays qui compte beaucoup d'Associations" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Il est à regretter que la Belgique n'ait envoyé qu'un seul délégué, et que ce délégué soit celui qui représentât le

moins de mandataires ; néanmoins, ce pays a été noblement représenté dans la personne de César De Paepe.

VII

"La Suisse, ou plutôt Genève, en a envoyé deux qui ne sont pas Suisses, savoir : un réfugié français et un réfugié badois, qui sont venus aux conférences avec les deux soi-disant délégués français nommés plus haut : au total, 5 ou 6 de la même valeur, et un véritable et sérieux, celui de la Belgique" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Les délégués de la Suisse furent élus au suffrage universel par tous les membres des différentes sections de l'Association internationale en Suisse ; la Société du Grütli,[316] entièrement composée de Suisses, et la Société allemande.

D.A.B.V. prirent aussi part aux élections par leurs délégués auprès de l'Association internationale en Suisse. Par le choix de leurs délégués, les membres de l'Association suisse se sont acquis une place honorable dans l'histoire de l'Association internationale.

Les délégués suisses vinrent aux conférences, non « avec les deux soi-disant délégués français » mais avec les quatre délégués parisiens.

Le citoyen Becker, un des délégués aux conférences, est naturalisé Suisse depuis plus de vingt ans ; la bourgeoisie de la ville de Berne lui fut présentée en reconnaissance des services qu'il rendit à la cause démocratique universelle ; ouvrier, il s'est distingué comme agitateur, soldat, administrateur et écrivain ; ses talents si multiples ont toujours été employés pour la cause des travailleurs ; il est ridicule de voir des Pygmées s'attaquer à de pareils géants, et il est certain que leur valeur ne saurait être mise en question que par des hommes d'une probité et d'un désintéressement connus.

VIII

"Nous le demandons, est-ce là un résultat satisfaisant ?" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 293).

Le Conseil central est composé presqu'exclusivement d'ouvriers habitués à manier le marteau et la lime et ce n'est qu'au prix de sacrifices personnels qu'ils peuvent les remplacer par la plume ; quand ils ont recours à la plume, c'est toujours pour défendre ou propager une noble cause et non pour la vendre au Bonapartisme ; si le résultat n'est pas aussi satisfaisant que les ouvriers en général auraient pu l'espérer, nous sommes convaincus qu'ils prendront en considération les veilles, passées après une longue journée d'un travail fatiguant, et les angoisses que leurs frères ont éprouvées pour l'amener à ce point.

IX

"Cédant à des influences fâcheuses, il a inscrit dans le programme du Congrès de Genève des questions en dehors du but de l'Association telle que celle d'anéantir l'influence Russe en Europe" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 294).

Quelles sont les influences fâcheuses auxquelles le Conseil central a cédé en inscrivant sur son programme : qu'il était nécessaire d'anéantir l'influence moscovite en Europe, (non l'influence russe), qui veut dire tout autre chose. La nécessité « d'anéantir l'influence moscovite en Europe » est reconnue en principe dans notre Manifeste qui certainement n'a pas été publié sous des influences fâcheuses.

Quelles sont les autres questions inscrites sur le programme, dues à des influences fâcheuses ?

X

"Cette faute énorme a déjà eu de fatales conséquences ; les Polonais ont demandé en masse à faire partie du comité et sous peu ils seront en immense majorité" (*Echo de Verviers*, n° 294).

Les Polonais n'ont pas demandé en masse à faire partie du Conseil central et au lieu d'y être en immense majorité ils n'en forment pas même la vingtième partie.

Le moyen de raisonner avec un écrivain qui dit: «Le comité a élaboré et fait voter un programme de douze questions comprenant presque tous les problèmes les plus généraux de l'économie politique, mais sans émettre une question scientifique» et qui, quelques lignes plus bas, sans même reprendre son souffle, reconnaît « l'importance scientifique » de ces mêmes questions.

Le Conseil central, loin d'être exclusif, a toujours cherché à s'entourer des lumières de tous les amis sincères de la cause des travailleurs, il a cherché par tous les moyens en son pouvoir, à propager ses grands principes et à unir les ouvriers de tous les pays. A cet effet, trois journaux ont été fondés en Suisse: *Le Journal de l'Association internationale des Travailleurs* et *La Voix de l'Avenir*, publiés en langue française et le *Précurseur (Vorbote)*, publié en langue allemande; un en Angleterre (*The Workman's Advocate*) le seul journal anglais qui, par l'application du droit qu'ont les peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes, reconnaît que les Irlandais ont le droit de secouer le joug Anglais.

Le Conseil central n'est pas juge des ses propres actions, le Congrès de Genève, décidera s'il est digne de la confiance dont il a été honoré, ou s'il a abandonné de gaieté de cœur le but sublime dont il avait été chargé.

Je suis, Monsieur, votre dévoué serviteur,

H. JUNG

Au nom du Conseil central
de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs.

15 Février 1866

Published in the newspaper *L'Echo de Verviers*, No. 43, February 20, 1866

Printed according to the newspaper text

THE IRISH STATE PRISONERS. SIR GEORGE GREY AND THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION[317]

Some weeks ago Mr. J. Pope Hennessy addressed the following communication to the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

Sir,—It appears that the *Pall Mall Gazette* has thrown the Home Office into a state of vigorous activity. It is currently reported that Sir George Grey and other members of the Government have within the last few days been seen in the almost impenetrable disguise of practical and zealous citizens looking into casual wards and night refuges. Now, if this be so, I would ask you to let me point out to the transformed officials of the Home Office a rather gloomy institution where a visit or two might not be thrown away—I mean the convict prison at Pentonville. Nor should the visitors consist only of Sir George Grey and his secretaries. Pentonville has at present (or ought to have) a peculiar interest for Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone. The political prisoners recently convicted in Ireland are undergoing within its walls the severest form of discipline next to death known to the English law—the Pentonville separate system. It is on behalf of these political prisoners especially that I venture to suggest some kind [of] inquiry. It must be admitted that Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone in their remonstrances on the treatment of political prisoners were not always as temperate in their language as eminent statesmen in these days are expected

to be. The principle they laid down, that political offenders should not be treated in all respects like common convicts, was sound enough; though to characterise the violation of that principle as a "breach of all moral law", as an "abominable persecution", as "a savage and cowardly system", was going a little too far. In borrowing Lord Russell's and Mr. Gladstone's principle, I therefore disclaim all connection with the rather violent phraseology in which they thought fit to enforce it. One reason for being somewhat more moderate than they were is self-evident. They were exposing the misconduct of foreign governments; I am endeavouring to correct the misconduct of a government in which these benevolent champions of imprisoned politicians are highly responsible members. It would be ungenerous to turn their own weapons against such champions in such a cause. Therefore, without borrowing any of the warm and indignant invectives of Lord Russell and Mr. Gladstone, I simply charge them with being parties to a breach of that well-known principle they have embodied in so many dispatches, speeches, and letters—that political convicts should not be treated like common convicts; and I also charge the present administration with treating the Irish political prisoners so severely that probably some of them will go mad. In Mr. Gladstone's famous letter to Lord Aberdeen (p. 31) he says:

> I had heard that the political offenders were obliged to have their heads shaved; but this had not been done, though they had been obliged to shave away any beard they might have had. I must say I was astonished at the mildness with which they spoke of those at whose hands they were enduring these abominable persecutions.

Not many days ago Mr. Gladstone might have read how the political offenders in Ireland half an hour after they were sentenced had their heads closely cropped, their beards and whiskers shaved off; how they were then stripped of their ordinary clothes, put into the convict

dress, handcuffed, and sent off to Pentonville. "In thirty minutes," said a Government organ describing the operation, "they were so changed that their dearest friends could hardly recognise them." In another part of his pamphlet Mr. Gladstone describes the unhappy condition of the political prisoners confined in the Bagno of Nisida after their sentence:

> For one half-hour of the week, a little prolonged by the leniency of the superintendent, they were allowed to see their friends outside the prison. This was the sole view of the natural beauties with which they were surrounded. At other times they were exclusively within the walls.—P. 29.

About a fortnight ago an Irish magistrate applied to the Home Office for permission to see the political prisoners now in England. Sir George Grey refused his application on the ground that for the first six months no stranger whatever can be allowed to visit a convict undergoing the separate system at Pentonville. What is the separate system of Pentonville? It is very unlike the system so eloquently exposed by Mr. Gladstone. The prisoners are not "allowed to see their friends outside the prison", nor are they allowed to see them inside the prison; nor are they allowed to see each other. Each prisoner has a solitary world of his own, thirteen feet by seven. A portion of this cell is occupied by a water-closet, and within two yards of this he takes his solitary meals, performs his solitary task work, and rests at night. If he omits to scrub and clean out his cell every morning, or if he breaks any other law of his little world, the directors can order him to be flogged, and put on bread and water for twenty-eight days in another little world where there is no light. What is the effect of this separate system? The Blue Books of the recent Royal Commission on Transportation and Penal Servitude give us the latest and most accurate information on the subject. Sir Joshua Jebb in his evidence speaks of

what he calls "the serious physical effects" of the Pentonville separate system.

When the prisoners were embarked in ships in order to go to Van Diemen's Land, a number of them fell into fits, and it was only by associating them for a fortnight or so before they left Pentonville that these fits ceased on embarkation.

Earl Grey: The suddenness of the change I suppose had that effect?—Yes. The medical men could not account for them; the fits were of an anomalous character.

Sir John Pakington: What was the nature of the fits?—The medical superintendent was in dismay. He had never seen anything of the kind before. They were very peculiar.

Sir John Pakington: Did the fits affect the health of the men afterwards?—The men got better afterwards; but they were reported to be very quiet. There is reason to believe that the effect was produced by the strictness of the separation.—P. 18.

Sir John Pakington will find in Judge Therry's "Reminiscences of New South Wales" (1863) a further answer to this question. The only English convict prison to which Judge Therry refers is Pentonville. "It in a great degree unfitted them (the discharge of convicts) for domestic and general service. It imparted to them abstracted and eccentric habits." The medical profession were of opinion that the system "had seriously impaired the mental faculties of several of the Penton*villains*, as they were termed."—(P. 354.) The present practice is to send the prisoners at the termination of the Pentonville system, to Chatham or to Portland to work in gangs with other convicts. This is called letting them into the world again. It is then that the full effect of Pentonville upon the mental faculties becomes manifest. Mr. Measor, the Deputy Governor of Chatham, in his evidence before the Royal Commission, says: "I have observed when they come down to the public works' prisons that they are in a very flabby condition of mind, and a very flabby condition physically, and I believe it (the Pentonville system) produces both effects." He is

asked, "You are able to state this from your own experience?" He answers:

> Yes. I have seen men who have come from separate confinement to whom I should be sorry to talk upon any subject with the expectation of getting any reasonable view from them. They appear as if they had been undergoing something which had so utterly depressed their system that you would no more think of treating them as reasonable beings, capable of being strongly remonstrated with, than you would a man who was almost at the door of death. (Vol. ii, p. 446.)

The proportion of those who are driven permanently insane by the Pentonville system is by no means small. The annual report of the Directors of Convict Prisons for the same year (1863) that the Deputy Governor of Chatham gave his evidence contains a table showing the number of convicts arriving at Chatham in twelve months, and the numbers transferred from Chatham in twelve months. From this table (p. 222) the following figures are taken. They confirm Mr. Measor's evidence, though they tell a more precise and painful tale:

	No. of Convicts
Received into Chatham convict prison since the 1st of January	852
Transferred to Millbank	1
„ to Dartmoor	2
„ to Woking	26
„ to Broadmoor Lunatic Asylum	85

It is only fair to state that, though this proportion of persons who are made mad by the separate system [is smaller than when this system] was carried out with greater severity. In the same report from which these figures are taken there is a statement of the medical officer of Pentonville, in which he remarks that "since 1859 the separate system has assumed a milder character, and for the last triennial period the insanity is less than any previous one, and the suicidal cases are also less."—(P. 29.) It is evident that the Pentonville system breaks down the mind, and that the number of those who are rendered absolutely

insane is in direct proportion to the severity of the treatment After such facts, it is hardly worth while mentioning that the dietary at Pentonville is lower than in any other convict prison (vol. i. p. 274, of the Royal Commission). In short, confinement in Pentonville is the severest punishment, except death, allowed by the law. I am not certain that I ought to say "except death", for I find the Protestant chaplain in his report saying that any one who thinks a convict is petted would change his opinion if he could visit Pentonville and "behold (a specimen of the sterner type of treatment here) a ruffian now under a sentence of life penal servitude for a savage assault committed in another prison, and ready to imbrue his hands here in the blood of any one who might come helplessly within his reach, glad to exchange his present state for the gallows."—(P. 17.) If a convict attempts to kill a warder at Portland or any other convict prison, he is punished by being sent to Pentonville. There he is left till he dies, or sent in a strait-jacket to Broadmoor. Whether those members of the Government who made themselves so very busy about political prisoners abroad will trouble themselves about political prisoners at home one can hardly venture to guess. Mr. Gladstone has before now changed his opinions, and so has Lord Russell. But this much I think may safely be said, that the people of England will not approve of condemning political prisoners in this country to the Pentonville separate system.

I am, Sir, your faithful servant,

J. POPE HENNESSY

1, Paper-buildings, Temple, Feb. 2, 1866

This letter having fallen under the eye of a member of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association,* he communicated with the wife of one of

* Fox.—*Ed.*

the State prisoners, and learnt from her these facts, viz., that the State prisoners now confined in Pentonville Prison were removed thither on December 23, 1865; that only one letter on either side was allowed to pass between the prisoner and his wife during the first six-months term of this mode of incarceration, and that a relaxation of this cruel rule would be a great boon to the prisoner and a consolation to his suffering family.

When these facts were laid before the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association, that body whose leading principle it is to appease national animosities and to encourage a sentiment of international fraternity—that body, which lamented the long-standing feud between the English and Irish nations, and could see only a new source of hatred between the two nations in the event of the reduction to a state of mental imbecility of the Irish State prisoners—thought it its duty to take the matter into its serious consideration.

The Central Council, after full deliberation, resolved to ask Sir George Grey to receive a deputation, consisting entirely of English and Scottish members, whose prayer to the Home Secretary should be to take care of the *mental* health of the State prisoners, and in particular to allow of a more frequent correspondence between the prisoners and their nearest and dearest relatives. The aim of the Council, in resolving that the proposed deputation should consist exclusively of Britons, was to offer a pledge of amity from the dominant nation to the suffering people of Ireland. The following letter was accordingly sent to Sir George Grey:

To the Right Hon. Sir George Grey,
Secretary of State for the Home Department

18, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street,
Feb. 24, 1866

Sir,—A deputation, consisting exclusively of Englishmen, from the Working Men's International Association,

solicit an interview with you at as early a day after next Tuesday as is convenient to you, to urge upon you the propriety of mitigating, to a very slight extent, the severity of the prison discipline now enforced at Pentonville Prison upon the Irish State prisoners.

I am, Sir, &c.,
W. R. CREMER, Hon. Sec.

To this application the Secretary has received the following reply:

Whitehall, March 1, 1866

Sir,—I am directed by Secretary Sir George Grey to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ult., requesting him to appoint an early day for receiving a deputation from the "International Working Men's Association" on the subject of the treatment of the Irish State prisoners in Pentonville Prison, and I am to acquaint you that the Secretary of State must decline to receive a deputation on this subject.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
H. WADDINGTON

Mr. W. R. Cremer,
18, Bouverie Street, E. C.

The Central Council submit this correspondence to the British public, and through them to the public of both continents, without comment.

G. ODGER, President

Drawn up by P. Fox

Published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 157, March 10, 1866

Printed according to the newspaper text

WARNUNG*[318]

Vor einiger Zeit bildeten die Londoner Schneidergesellen eine allgemeine Assoziation zur Geltendmachung ihrer Ansprüche gegen die Londoner Schneidermeister, die großenteils große Kapitalisten sind. Es galt, nicht nur die Löhne ins Gleichgewicht mit den gestiegenen Preisen der Lebensmittel zu setzen, sondern auch der ausnahmsweise brutalen Behandlung der Arbeiter in diesem Gewerbszweig ein Ende zu machen. Die Meister suchten diese Kombination durch Werbung von Schneidergesellen namentlich in Belgien, Frankreich und der Schweiz zu brechen. Die Sekretäre des Zentralrats der „Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation" veröffentlichten darauf in den belgischen, französischen und schweizer Zeitungen eine Warnung, deren Erfolg vollständig war. Das Manöver der Londoner Meister wurde vereitelt; sie mußten die Waffen strecken, und die gerechten Ansprüche ihrer Arbeiter befriedigen.

In England geschlagen, versuchen die Meister, jetzt von *Schottland* aus eine Reaktion herbeizuführen. Infolge der Londoner Ereignisse waren sie nämlich genötigt, auch in Edinburgh zunächst eine Lohnerhöhung von 15% zu bewilligen. Unter der Hand jedoch sandten sie Agenten nach Deutschland, um, namentlich im Hannoverschen und Mecklenburgischen, Schneidergesellen zur Importation nach Edinburgh zu werben. Die erste Verschiffung dieser Art hat bereits stattgefunden. Der Zweck dieser Importa-

* See Appendix, pp. 367-68.—*Ed.*

tion ist derselbe, wie der der Importation von indischen* Coolies (Kulis) nach Jamaika, — *Verewigung der Sklaverei.* Gelänge es den Meistern von Edinburgh vermittels deutscher Einfuhr ihre bereits gemachten Zugeständnisse zu brechen, so wäre ein Rückschlag auf England unvermeidlich. *Niemand würde schwerer darunter büßen, als die deutschen Arbeiter selbst,* die zahlreicher in Großbritannien vertreten sind, als die Arbeiter aller anderen kontinentalen Nationen. Die Neuimportierten aber, völlig hilflos im fremden Lande, würden bald zu einer Pariastellung herabsinken.

Es ist außerdem ein Ehrenpunkt für die deutschen Arbeiter, dem Ausland zu beweisen, daß sie, gleich ihren Brüdern in Frankreich, Belgien und der Schweiz, das gemeinsame Interesse ihrer Klasse zu vertreten wissen und sich nicht zu *willenlosen Landsknechten des Kapitals* in seinem Kampfe gegen die Arbeit hergeben.

Im Auftrag des "Zentralrats**
der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation"
KARL MARX

London, den 4. Mai 1866

Die deutschen Schneidergesellen, die näheren Aufschluß über die britischen Verhältnisse wünschen, sind ersucht, ihre Briefe an das deutsche Zweigkomitee der Londoner Schneiderassoziation zu richten unter der Adresse: *Albert F. Haufe,* Crown Public House, Hedden Court, Regent Street, London.

Published in the newspaper *Oberrheinischer Courier,* No. 113, May 15, 1866

Printed according to the newspaper text

* In K. Marx's manuscript "asiatischer".—*Ed.*
** In K. Marx's manuscript "Generalrats".—*Ed.*

AUX ETUDIANTS DE PARIS, AUX ETUDIANTS ET AUX JEUNES HOMMES DE TOUS LES PAYS — LES OUVRIERS DE TOUS PAYS*[319]

Etudiants de Paris,

Nous avons entendu le chaleureux appel que vous avez adressé à vos frères d'Italie et d'Allemagne.[320] Nos cœurs ont tressailli d'allégresse. On nous disait qu'elle était morte cette brillante jeunesse des Ecoles, toujours prête à revendiquer les droits de la justice. Non! elle n'est point morte! Plus ardente que jamais, elle marche dans les voies de la Révolution.

Vous qui, au milieu de l'aveugle entraînement qui pousse les gouvernements à faire entr'égorger les peuples, avez eu le courage de faire entendre une parole de paix et de concorde, nous vous disons:

Oui, comme vous, nous maudissons la guerre; car c'est nous qui en portons tout le fardeau, c'est nous que le canon broie par milliers sur les champs de bataille.

L'humanité a assez souffert ; trop longtemps elle a été courbée sous le joug abrutissant de la force, et il est grand temps que, chassant de son cœur et de son cerveau toute superstition, elle se redresse et réclame énergiquement la justice.

Etudiants et jeunes hommes de tous les pays,

Nous les déshérités, nous qui portons le poids du joug, nous qui produisons les richesses et qui n'en jouissons pas, nous en appelons à votre cœur ;

* See Appendix, pp. 369-71.—*Ed.*

Etudiants en médecine, mieux que tous autres vous connaissez nos souffrances, vous nous voyez à l'hôpital, seule récompense d'une vie pleine de fatigue et de travail ;

Etudiants en droit, vous savez par quelles entraves les lois, par tous pays, empêchent notre organisation ;

Etudiants en philosophie, vous que la science a affranchis de toute superstition, rappelez-vous les efforts qu'il vous a fallu faire pour parvenir à ce résultat. Nous qui travaillons sans relâche, pouvons-nous les faire ?

Jeunes hommes qui, comme nous, gagnez votre vie, vous savez combien de rudes travaux nous coûte notre misérable pain !

Nous aussi, comme vous, nous avons voulu avoir *notre congrès*. Il se tiendra à Genève de 13 septembre prochain. Nous voulons, réunis ensemble, étudier la hideuse plaie qui nous ronge les flancs, le paupérisme, nous voulons en chercher le remède et l'appliquer coûte que coûte.

Eh bien ! vous qui êtes jeunes, vous dont l'âge n'a pas encore refroidi les nobles aspirations ; vous, enfin, l'espoir de l'avenir, du fond de notre misère nous vous disons : Venez au milieu de nous, vous verrez nos mains durcies par le travail ; venez cimenter notre alliance. Vous nous enseignerez la science, et nous vous apprendrons les *mystères du travail*. Nous nous connaîtrons mieux et nous aimerons davantage.

Le pauvre n'a pas de patrie ; par tous pays il endure les mêmes maux, aussi il comprend que les barrières dans lesquelles les puissants avaient parqués les peuples pour les mieux asservir doivent tomber. C'est lui, lui surtout, ô jeunes gens, qui réalisera le rêve du doux Anacharsis Cloots, l'*orateur du genre humain* ; c'est lui qui créa la grande fédération des peuples. Venez, venez donc nous aider à accomplir ce grand œuvre du dix-neuvième siècle.

Alors la révolution sociale que nous attendons, que nous réclamons de toute notre énergie sera achevée. Alors l'homme sera non seulement maître de sa personne, mais

encore de son travail ; car les privilèges se seront évanouis, les parasites auront disparu. Alors les travailleurs seront seuls honorés, alors la paix et le bonheur régneront sur toute la face de la terre, alors, enfin, l'unité de la race humaine sera constituée.

Dupont, ouvrier en instruments de musique ; — *Marco*, évantailliste ; — *John Hales*, tisserand ; — *James Dutton*, carrossier ; — *Jung*, horloger ; — *W. Hopkin*,* ébéniste ; — *Shaw*, peintre-décorateur ; — *Buckley*, mécanicien ; — *Carter*, parfumeur ; — *Eccarius*, tailleur ; — *J. Weston*, charpentier ; *Lessner*, tailleur ; — *Le Lubez*, commis-voyageur ; — *François Garow*, ébéniste ; — *Besson*, mécanicien ; — *Mauriès*, tailleur ; — *Lassassie*, coiffeur, etc., etc.

N.B. Sur la demande des promoteurs de cette adresse, le Conseil central de l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs*, dont le siège est à Londres, Bouverie Street, n°18, Fleet Street, se charge de recevoir les adhésions ; il en fera le relevé et le publiera dans son organe officiel, le *Commonwealth*. L'Europe aura par là un moyen de connaître l'état des esprits et les aspirations de la classe ouvrière.

Le Conseil central prie tous ceux à qui cet appel est adressé, tous les membres de l'*Association internationale* et tous les journaux qui prétendent représenter l'opinion démocratique, de le faire connaître au public par tous les moyens possibles. D'ailleurs, il le fera traduire dans toutes les langues et chargera tous ses secrétaires de le faire parvenir à tous leurs membres correspondants.

Cet appel, le premier de son genre, jettera les assises de cette entente cordiale que l'*Association internationale des Travailleurs* essaie de développer et qu'elle établira.

Published in the newspaper *Le Courrier Français*, June 10, 1866

Printed according to the newspaper text

* Should read: H. Williams.—*Ed.*

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DELEGATES OF THE PROVISIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL. THE DIFFERENT QUESTIONS[321]

1. ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Upon the whole, the Provisional Central Council recommend the *plan of organisation* as traced in the Provisional Statutes. Its soundness and facilities of adaptation to different countries without prejudice to unity of action have been proved by two years' experience. For the next year we recommend London as the seat of the Central Council, the Continental situation looking unfavourable for change.

The members of the Central Council will of course be elected by Congress (5 of the Provisional Statutes) with power to add to their number.

The *General Secretary* to be chosen by Congress for one year and to be the only paid officer of the Association. We propose £2 for his weekly salary.*

The *uniform annual contribution of each individual member of the Association* to be *one half penny* (perhaps one penny). The cost price of cards of membership (carnets) to be charged extra.

While calling upon the members of the Association to form benefit societies and connect them by an internation-

* In the French text the following paragraph has been added: "Le *comité permanent* formant en fait l'exécutif du Conseil central, sera choisi par le congrès; la fonction de chacun de ses membres sera déterminée par le Conseil central". The same paragraph is given in the German text.—*Ed.*

al link, we leave the initiation of this question (établissement des sociétés de secours mutuels. Appui moral et matériel accordé aux orphelins de l'association) to the Swiss who originally proposed it at the conference of September last.

2. INTERNATIONAL COMBINATION OF EFFORTS, BY THE AGENCY OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LABOUR AND CAPITAL

(*a*) From a general point of view, this question embraces the whole activity of the International Association which aims at combining and generalising the till now disconnected efforts for emancipation by the working classes in different countries.

(*b*) To counteract the intrigues of capitalists always ready, in cases of strikes and lockouts, to misuse the foreign workman as a tool against the native workman, is one of the particular functions which our Society has hitherto performed with success. It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation.

(*c*) One great "International combination of efforts" which we suggest is a *statistical inquiry into the situation of the working classes of all countries to be instituted by the working classes themselves.* To act with any success, the materials to be acted upon must be known. By initiating so great a work, the workmen will prove their ability to take their own fate into their own hands. We propose therefore:

That in each locality, where branches of our Association exist, the work be immediately commenced, and evidence collected on the different points specified in the subjoined scheme of inquiry.

That the Congress invite all workmen of Europe and the United States of America to collaborate in gathering the

elements of the statistics of the working class; that reports and evidence be forwarded to the Central Council. That the Central Council elaborate them into a general report, adding the evidence as an appendix.

That this report together with its appendix be laid before the next annual Congress, and after having received its sanction, be printed at the expense of the Association.

GENERAL SCHEME OF INQUIRY,
WHICH MAY OF COURSE BE MODIFIED BY EACH LOCALITY

1. Industry, name of.
2. Age and sex of the employed.
3. Number of the employed.
4. Salaries and wages: (*a*) apprentices; (*b*) wages by the day or piece work; scale paid by middlemen. Weekly, yearly average.
5. (*a*) Hours of work in factories. (*b*) The hours of work with small employers and in homework, if the business be carried on in those different modes. (*c*) Nightwork and daywork.
6. Mealtimes and treatment.
7. Sort of workshop and work: overcrowding, defective ventilation, want of sunlight, use of gaslight. Cleanliness, etc.
8. Nature of occupation.
9. Effect of employment upon the physical condition.
10. Moral condition. Education.
11. State of trade: whether season trade, or more or less uniformly distributed over year, whether greatly fluctuating, whether exposed to foreign competition, whether destined principally for home or foreign competition, etc.

3. LIMITATION OF THE WORKING DAY

A preliminary condition, without which all further attempts at improvement and emancipation must prove abortive, is the *limitation of the working day*.

It is needed to restore the health and physical energies of the working class, that is, the great body of every nation, as well as to secure them the possibility of intellectual development, sociable intercourse, social and political action.

We propose *8 hours work* as the *legal limit* of the working day. This limitation being generally claimed by the workmen of the United States of America,[322] the vote of the Congress will raise it to the common platform of the working classes all over the world.

For the information of Continental members, whose experience of factory law is comparatively short dated, we add that all legal restrictions will fail and be broken through by Capital if the *period of the day* during which the 8 working hours must be taken, be not fixed. The length of that period ought to be determined by the 8 working hours and the additional pauses for meals. For instance, if the different interruptions for meals amount to *one hour*, the legal period of the day ought to embrace 9 hours, say from 7 a. m. to 4 p. m., or from 8 a. m. to 5 p. m., etc. Nightwork to be but exceptionally permitted, in trades or branches of trades specified by law. The tendency must be to suppress all nightwork.

This paragraph refers only to adult persons, male or female, the latter, however, to be rigorously excluded from all *nightwork whatever*, and all sort of work hurtful to the delicacy of the sex, or exposing their bodies to poisonous and otherwise deleterious agencies. By adult persons we understand all persons having reached or passed the age of 18 years.

4. JUVENILE AND CHILDREN'S LABOUR (BOTH SEXES)

We consider the tendency of modern industry to make children and juvenile persons of both sexes co-operate in the great work of social production, as a progressive,

sound and legitimate tendency, although under capital it was distorted into an abomination. In a rational state of society *every child whatever*, from the age of 9 years, ought to become a productive labourer in the same way that no able-bodied adult person ought to be exempted from the general law of nature, viz.: to work in order to be able to eat, and work not only with the brain but with the hands too.

However, for the present, we have only to deal with the children and young persons of both sexes [belonging to the working people. They ought to be divided]* into three *classes*, to be treated differently; the first class to range from 9 to 12; the second, from 13 to 15 years; and the third, to comprise the ages of 16 and 17 years. We propose that the employment of the first class in any workshop or housework be legally restricted to *two*; that of the second, to *four*; and that of the third, to *six* hours. For the third class, there must be a break of at least one hour for meals or relaxation.

It may be desirable to begin elementary school instruction before the age of 9 years; but we deal here only with the most indispensable antidotes against the tendencies of a social system which degrades the working man into a mere instrument for the accumulation of capital, and transforms parents by their necessities into slaveholders, sellers of their own children. The *right* of children and juvenile persons must be vindicated. They are unable to act for themselves. It is, therefore, the duty of society to act on their behalf.

If the middle and higher classes neglect their duties toward their offspring, it is their own fault. Sharing the privileges of these classes, the child is condemned to suffer from their prejudices.

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* An omission in the newspaper text. Corrected according to a later edition.—*Ed.*

The case of the working class stands quite different. The working man is no free agent. In too many cases, he is even too ignorant to understand the true interest of his child, or the normal conditions of human development. However, the more enlightened part of the working class fully understands that the future of its class, and, therefore, of mankind, altogether depends upon the formation of the rising working generation. They know that, before everything else, the children and juvenile workers must be saved from the crushing effects of the present system. This can only be effected by converting *social reason* into *social force*, and, under given circumstances, there exists no other method of doing so, than through *general laws*, enforced by the power of the state. In enforcing such laws, the working class do not fortify governmental power. On the contrary, they transform that power, now used against them, into their own agency. They effect by a general act what they would vainly attempt by a multitude of isolated individual efforts.

Proceeding from this standpoint, we say that no parent and no employer ought to be allowed to use juvenile labour, except when combined with education.

By education we understand three things.

Firstly: *Mental education.*

Secondly: *Bodily education*, such as is given in schools of gymnastics, and by military exercise.

Thirdly: *Technological training*, which imparts the general principles of all processes of production, and, simultaneously initiates the child and young person in the practical use and handling of the elementary instruments of all trades.

A gradual and progressive course of mental, gymnastic, and technological training ought to correspond to the classification of the juvenile labourers. The costs of the technological schools ought to be partly met by the sale of their products.

The combination of paid productive labour, mental education, bodily exercise and polytechnic training, will raise the working class far above the level of the higher and middle classes.

It is self-understood that the employment of all persons from [9] and to 17 years (inclusively) in nightwork and all health-injuring trades must be strictly prohibited by law.

5. CO-OPERATIVE LABOUR

It is the business of the International Working Men's Association to combine and generalise the *spontaneous movements* of the working classes, but not to dictate or impose any doctrinary system whatever. The Congress should, therefore, proclaim no *special system* of co-operation, but limit itself to the enunciation of a few general principles.

(*a*) We acknowledge the co-operative movement as one of the transforming forces of the present society based upon class antagonism. Its great merit is to practically show, that the present pauperising, and despotic system of the *subordination of labour* to capital can be superseded by the republican and beneficent system of *the association of free and equal producers.*

(*b*) Restricted, however, to the dwarfish forms into which individual wages slaves can elaborate it by their private efforts, the co-operative system will never transform capitalistic society. To convert social production into one large and harmonious system of free and co-operative labour, *general social changes* are wanted, *changes of the general conditions of society*, never to be realised save by the transfer of the organised forces of society, viz., the state power, from capitalists and landlords to the producers themselves.

(*c*) We recommend to the working men to embark in *co-operative production* rather than in *co-operative stores.*

The latter touch but the surface of the present economical system, the former attacks its groundwork.

(*d*) We recommend to all co-operative societies to convert one part of their joint income into a fund for propagating their principles by example as well as by precept, in other words, by promoting the establishment of new co-operative fabrics, as well as by teaching and preaching.

(*e*) In order to prevent co-operative societies from degenerating into ordinary middle-class joint stock companies (sociétés par actions), all workmen employed, whether shareholders or not, ought to share alike. As a mere temporary expedient, we are willing to allow shareholders a low rate of interest.

6. TRADES' UNIONS. THEIR PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

(*a*) Their past.

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force. The *contract* between capital and labour can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labour on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition amongst themselves.*

Trades' Unions originally sprung up from the *spontaneous* attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of Trades' Unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediencies for the obstruction of the incessant encroach-

ments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labour. This activity of the Trades' Unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalised by the formation and the combination of Trades' Unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the Trades' Unions were forming *centres of organisation* of the working class, as the mediaeval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the Trades' Unions are required for the guerilla fights between capital and labour, they are still more important as *organised agencies for superseding the very system of wages labour and capital rule.*

(*b*) Their present.

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the Trades' Unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken* to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of Trades' delegates at Scheffield:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

* In the German text the words "in England wenigstens" have been added.—*Ed.*

(*c*) Their future.

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organising centres of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation.* They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the non-society men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst paid trades, such as the agricultural labourers, rendered powerless* by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

7. DIRECT AND INDIRECT TAXATION

(*a*) No modification of the form of taxation can produce any important change in the relations of labour and capital.

(*b*) Nevertheless, having to choose between two systems of taxation, we recommend the *total abolition of indirect taxes*, and the *general substitution of direct taxes.*

Because direct taxes enhance the prices of commodities, the tradesmen adding to those prices not only the amount of the indirect taxes, but the interest and profit upon the capital advanced in their payment;

Because indirect taxes conceal from an individual what he is paying to the state, whereas a direct tax is undisguised, unsophisticated, and not to be misunderstood by the meanest capacity. Direct taxation prompts therefore every individual to control the governing powers while indirect taxation destroys all tendency to self-government.

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* The French text here reads: "... ont empêché toute résistance organisée...".—*Ed.*

8. INTERNATIONAL CREDIT

Initiative to be left to the French.

9. POLISH QUESTION*

(*a*) Why do the workmen of Europe take up this question? In the first instance, because the middle-class writers and agitators conspire to suppress it, although they patronise all sorts of nationalities, on the Continent, even Ireland. Whence this reticence? Because both, aristocrats and bourgeois, look upon the dark Asiatic power in the background as a last resource against the advancing tide of working class ascendency. That power can only be effectually put down by the restoration of Poland upon a democratic basis.

(*b*) In the present changed state of Central Europe, and especially Germany, it is more than ever necessary to have a democratic Poland. Without it, Germany will become the outwork of the Holy Alliance, with it, the co-operator with republican France. The working-class movement will continuously be interrupted, checked, and retarded, until this great European question be set at rest.

(*c*) It is especially the duty of the German working class to take the initiative in this matter, because Germany is one of the partitioners of Poland.

10. ARMIES**

(*a*) The deleterious influence of large standing armies upon *production*, has been sufficiently exposed at middle-

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* The French reads: "De la nécessité d'anéantir l'influence russe en Europe pour l'application du droit des peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes et de roconstruire une Pologne sur des bases démocratiques et sociales."—*Ed.*

** The French reads: "Armées permanentes; leurs rapports avec la production."—*Ed.*

class congresses of all denominations, at peace congresses, economical congresses, statistical congresses, philanthropical congresses, sociological congresses. We think it, therefore, quite superfluous to expatiate upon this point.

(*b*) We propose the general armament of the people and their general instruction in the use of arms.

(*c*) We accept as a transitory necessity small standing armies to form schools for the officers of the militia; every male citizen to serve for a very limited time in those armies.

11. RELIGIOUS QUESTION*

To be left to the initiative of the French.

Written by K. Marx
at the end of August 1866

Published in the newspapers *The International Courier*, Nos. 6-7, February 20, and Nos. 8-10, March 13, 1867, and *Le Courrier International*, Nos. 10, 11, March 9 and March 16, 1867, as well as in the newspaper *Der Vorbote*, Nos. 10 and 11, October and November 1866.

Printed according to *The International Courier*

* The French reads: "Des idées religieuses; leur influence sur le mouvement social, politique et intellectuel."—*Ed.*

APPENDIX

EXPLANATORY NOTES

INDEXES

APPENDIX

CORRECTION[304]

After the two motions of Messrs. Beales and Leverson, mentioned in No. 30 of your newspaper, had been carried by the Polish meeting in London on March 1, *Mr. Peter Fox* (an Englishman), on behalf of the *International Working Men's Association*, proposed:

"That an integral and independent Poland is an indispensable condition of democratic Europe, and that so long as this condition is unfulfilled, revolutionary triumphs on the Continent are short-lived preludes to prolonged periods of counter-revolutionary ascendancy."

After briefly outlining the history of the evils which had befallen Europe as a result of the loss of liberty by Poland, and of Russia's policy of conquest, Mr. P. Fox said that the stand of the *Liberal* party on this question did not coincide with that of the *democratic* society for which he was speaking. The motto of conservative Europe was: an enslaved Europe with an enslaved Poland as a basis. The motto of the International Working Men's Association was, on the contrary: a free Europe based upon a free and independent Poland.

Mr. Eccarius (a German worker, Vice-President of the International Working Men's Association) seconded the motion, referring in detail to the share Prussia had taken in the various partitions of Poland. In conclusion he said:

"*The downfall of the Prussian monarchy* is the conditio sine qua [non] for the establishment of Germany and the re-establishment of Poland."

Mr. Le Lubez, a French member of the *International Working Men's Association*, likewise spoke in support of the motion, which *was carried unanimously, amid the continuous cheering of the meeting.*

The *Daily News* and a few other "liberal" London dailies *omitted* this part of the report, being vexed by the triumph of the *International Working Men's Association*, without whose collaboration, incidentally, the Polish meeting at St. Martin's Hall could not have taken place at all. On behalf of the International Working Men's Association, I request you to print this correction.

London, etc.

H. JUNG,
Corresponding Secretary of the International
Working Men's Association for Switzerland

Written by Karl Marx
on April 13, 1865

Published with slight alterations
in *Der weiße Adler*, No. 48,
April 22, 1865

Translated from the German

TO THE EDITOR OF *L'ECHO DE VERVIERS*[314]

18, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London

Sir,

We count upon your sense of justice and your desire "to spread the truth and enlightenment among the working classes" in asking you to publish the following letter, a copy of which has been sent to Citizen V.*

Yours faithfully,
JUNG

Mr. V.,

L'Echo de Verviers published, in its issue No. 293 of December 16, 1865, an article ostensibly aimed at enlightening the working men on the spirit that animates the members of the Central Council of the *International Working Men's Association.* Citizen Le Lubez, who presented it to the Council (as he had been instructed to do), admitted that the article, although anonymous, was from your pen.

Upon discussing it, the Central Council at its meeting on January 9, 1866, adopted the following resolution:

"Citizen V. is expected to establish the facts he has cited; if he refuses or is incapable of doing so, he shall be expelled from the *International Working Men's Association.*"

Since your article departs completely from the truth, the Central Council regards it as its duty to restore the full facts. The Central Council is aware of its mission, and of the mandate entrusted to it; it will not refute slander with slander, nor lies with lies. It will not stoop to personal ac-

* Vésinier.—*Ed.*

cusations but will let the accused vindicate themselves. It will not be deterred by any obstacles, and despite its false friends, it will leave no spot or blemish on its reputation.

Particularly noteworthy are the following passages:

I

"Before long all the French and Italian members resigned on account of the presence of Messrs. Tolain and Fribourg in the Committee, and their intrigues" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

Of the nine French members, only two withdrew, namely, Messrs. Denoual and Le Lubez, the latter returning shortly afterwards. As for the Italians, one of them (Citizen Wolff) gave as the reason for his resignation, not "the presence of Messrs. Tolain and Fribourg in the Committee, and their intrigues", but a Central Council resolution concerning Citizen Lefort* proposed by the Sub-Committee, for which he himself had voted, a few hours earlier, as a member of the Sub-Committee.

II

"The Committee continued to function without them, and has done so to this day" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

Of the two French members who withdrew, Citizen Le Lubez, former secretary for France, returned shortly afterwards as the delegate from the Deptford section; consequently, the Committee did not "function without" him for long.

III

"It (the Committee) published an Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules, the former being from the pen of an eminent publicist of Latin race, etc." (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

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* See pp. 79-80 of the present volume.—*Ed.*

The Address and the Rules were published prior to the withdrawal of the two French members and the Italian members. The Address is not from the pen of an eminent publicist of Latin race, but of a writer of Teutonic race.* The Address was adopted unanimously by all the members of the Central Council, including the French and the Italians, even before the publicist of Latin race had acquainted himself with it. So far from being its author, had he acquainted himself with it, he would have urged the Italian members to oppose it because of its anti-bourgeois character. But, having arrived too late, all he could do was to prevent the Italian members from translating it into Italian. It is evident that you have never read this Address, and the eminent publicist of Latin race will not thank you for attributing it to his pen.

IV

"Has it (the Committee) pursued the aim it has set itself, viz., the complete emancipation of the working people?

"No. Instead, it has wasted a precious year to call a conference and work out the programme of the congress that is to take place in Geneva, etc." (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

The Central Council began to function around 1865. This means that nine months passed before the conference was held. It spent these "precious" nine months to establish international relations and extend its contacts in Britain. Every week, for a period of several months, deputations composed of Council members were sent to various working men's societies to induce them to join the Association. Here is the result: at the time of the conference the *International Working Men's Association* numbered 14,000 members in Britain; among the affiliated societies were such important organisations as the Shoemakers' and Operative Bricklayers' societies; the most influential and noted men of these big working men's organisations (Trades Unions)

* The reference is to Giuseppe Mazzini and Karl Marx.—*Ed.*

were members of the Central Council; a newspaper had been founded whose very title (*The Workman's Advocate*) indicates its mission, a newspaper which defends the interests of the working class, always and everywhere.

The association for universal suffrage (the Reform League) was founded in Britain, an association which has thousands of members and whose secretary, as well as most of the members of its Executive Council, have been elected from our midst.

In France we have several thousand adherents.

In Paris there is a strong, active and irreproachable Administration which heads over two thousand members; branches in Lyons, Rouen, Nantes, Caen, Neufchâteau, Pont-l'Evêque, Pantin, St. Denis, Lisieux, Puteaux, Belleville, etc., etc., etc.

In Switzerland—an administration in Geneva, made up of the finest people, which heads 500 members, and branches in Lausanne, Vevey, Montreux and the Neuchâtel canton.

In Belgium the movement was taking shape under the most auspicious circumstances, and the Central Committee had reason to believe that it would not be long before Spain followed suit.

V

"No, it (the Committee) did not invite to its conference in September 1865 a single delegate from Germany, where there are so many working men's societies, nor from the numerous British societies, nor from the Italian societies, which are so well organised, nor from those existing in France, for Tolain, Fribourg & Co. are not delegates of any society of French working men—they had delegated themselves; they had furnished no proof of being invested with any mandate. They were not delegates of French working men's associations, and, indeed, their presence was the sole reason why the latter did not send delegates to the London Conference. We could name several associations which refused for the same reason to attend, etc., etc." (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

In principle, representation at the conference was restricted to the sections of the International Working Men's Association and to the societies which had subscribed to its principles; moreover, the state of our finances impelled us to limit the number of delegates to the barest minimum.

In the case of Germany, "where there are so many working men's societies", the only ones that could have been represented were the consumers' societies, founded by Schulze-Delitzsch, and the Lassallean societies, the General Association of German Workers. The former, whose membership is not aware of the fact, are merely a tool of the Prussian liberal bourgeoisie, one of whose *matadors* Schulze-Delitzsch is; the Lassallean societies were, and still are, in a state of complete disintegration, one part of them having entered into a coalition with Bismarck, while the other part, which had not yet reconstituted itself, recognised as its leader J. Ph. Becker, the Swiss delegate to the conference. While the conference was in session, he received a mandate from the workers of the Solingen factories, and he also represented the German Society in Geneva—the German Workers' Educational Association. The German Society in London (German Workers' Educational Association) was represented by its delegates to the Central Council.

In addition to the obstacles which workmen encounter in forming societies in Germany, the law prohibits them from adhering to foreign societies. Nevertheless, several sections were formed in the North and South of Germany.

In view of all these difficulties, is it so very surprising that Germany was not represented so well as the Central Council would have liked?

The British societies were very well represented by the British members of the Central Council: Odger, the President, is Secretary of the Trades Council (supreme council of all the British Trades Unions); Cremer, the General Secretary, is a member of the Carpenters' Executive Commit-

tee; Howell, Secretary of the Reform League and a member of the Operative Bricklayers' Executive Committee, and Coulson, Secretary of the latter society, are both delegates from it to the Central Council; Wheeler, general manager of a mutual life insurance company, is a member of the Central Council.

The shoemakers (5,500 members) were represented by Odger, Morgan and Cope, while Shaw represented the house-painters, etc., etc.

Citizen Wolff, who attended the Italian working men's congress at Naples in 1865, and the other Italian members of the Council, did not succeed in winning a single adherent in Italy, although they took a very active part in the work of the Central Council. The Central Council deplores the fact that the Italian members did not, even before they withdrew, enjoy sufficient confidence with "the Italian societies, which are so well organised", to induce at least one of them to join the International Association.

Not a "single delegate from those [societies] existing in France, for Tolain, Fribourg & Co. are not delegates of any French society—they had delegated themselves".

The members of the Lyons section regretted that the lack of funds had prevented them from sending delegates, but just like those of the Caen and Neufchâteau sections, they had sent an address, thereby taking part in the work of the Central Council.

Tolain, Fribourg, Limousin and Varlin had been elected by general vote in the Paris section; this section is composed of workers of all trades and of several hundred members of the Crédit au Travail association. Beluze, who heads the association, is also a member of the section. All of them took, or could have taken, part in the election of the delegates. Limousin, one of the four Paris delegates, is secretary of the Board of the newspaper *L'Association*, international organ of the co-operative societies.

Mr. Clariol was delegated by the Printers' Society of Paris. On the invitation of the Central Council, Messrs. Schily, Dumesnil-Marigny and others came from Paris to attend the conference, in which they took a very active part.

Which are the other societies that you say were prevented by the presence of Tolain, Fribourg & Co. from sending delegates to the conference? Are you referring to the Society of December 10,[315] the only one permitted by the present French regime?

The report on the conference appeared in all the liberal newspapers of Paris without giving rise to a single complaint or a single objection on the part of the members of the International Association or the French co-operative societies. The mandate given to the delegates had been verified and approved by the Sub-Committee of the Central Council.

At the very beginning of the conference the Paris delegates presented a detailed and faithful report on the activities of their Administration and the state of their finances, and corroborated it by putting their books and the whole of their correspondence at the disposal of the Central Council. The Central Council may well express its satisfaction at the effective steps taken by the Paris Administration to found and propagate the International Association in France.

VI

"Belgium sent a very able delegate, Citizen De Paepe, but he was the only representative from that country, which numbers many associations" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

It is regrettable that Belgium sent only one delegate and that this delegate was the one to represent the least number of electors. Nevertheless, that country was fittingly represented in the person of César De Paepe.

VII

"Switzerland, or rather Geneva, sent two delegates who are not Swiss, namely, a French refugee and another from Baden, who arrived for the conference together with the two supposedly French delegates mentioned above—altogether five or six persons of the same brand, and one real and serious delegate, the Belgian" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

The Swiss delegates had been elected by general vote by all the members of the various sections of the International Association in Switzerland, the Grütli Society,[316] which is entirely Swiss, and the German Society.

The German Workers' Educational Association, too, participated in the election through its representatives in the International Association's organisation in Switzerland. By the choice of their delegates, the Association's Swiss members have won an honourable place in the history of the International Association.

The Swiss delegates arrived for the conference, not "together with the two supposedly French delegates", but with the four Paris delegates.

Citizen Becker, one of the conference delegates, has been a naturalised Swiss for more than twenty years. He was made a citizen of the town of Bienne in recognition of his services to the cause of world democracy. A worker, he distinguished himself as an agitator, soldier, organiser and writer. He has always used his manifold talents for the cause of the working people. It is ridiculous to see pygmies assailing such giants, whose merits, clearly, may be judged only by men who are themselves known for their probity and disinterested attitude.

VIII

"We ask: is that a satisfactory result?" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 293).

The Central Council is composed almost exclusively of workmen who are used to handle the hammer and the file,

and it is only at the price of personal sacrifice that they can change them for the pen. Whenever they turn to the pen, they do so to defend or promote a noble cause, and not to sell themselves to Bonapartism. If the result is not as satisfactory as workers in general would have liked it to be, we are convinced that they will take into account the evenings spent working after a long and exhausting day of labour, and the anxiety which their brothers had to experience before they achieved the present state of affairs.

IX

"Yielding to pernicious influences, it included in the programme of the Geneva Congress questions that have no relation to the aims of the Association, such as the question of the need to do away with Russian influence in Europe" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 294).

What are the pernicious influences to which the Central Council yielded by including in its programme the question of the need to do away with Muscovite influence in Europe (not Russian influence, which means an entirely different thing)? The need to "do away with Muscovite influence in Europe" is recognised in principle by our Inaugural Address, which was certainly not published under anyone's pernicious influence.

What are the other questions included in the programme under pernicious influences?

X

"This enormous mistake has already had fatal consequences; the Poles have demanded en masse to be admitted into the Committee, and they will soon command a vast majority in it" (*Echo de Verviers*, No. 294).

The Poles did not demand en masse to be admitted into the Central Council, and far from commanding a vast majority in it, they form less than one-twentieth of it.

How can one reason with a writer who says: "The Committee drew up and put to the vote a programme of twelve points covering nearly all the more general problems of political economy, but did not pose a single scientific question", and who, a few lines further down, recognises, without even pausing for breath, "the scientific importance" of the very same questions?

The Central Council, far from being exclusive, has always sought to benefit from the enlightened opinion of all sincere friends of the working people's cause; it has been doing all in its power to promote its great principles and to unite the workers of all countries. To this end, it has founded three newspapers in Switzerland: *Le Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* and *La Voix de l'Avenir*, published in French, and *The Forerunner* (*Vorbote*), published in German; and one in Britain, *The Workman's Advocate*, the only English newspaper which, proceeding from the right of the peoples to self-determination, recognises that the Irish have the right to throw off the English yoke.

The Central Council cannot pass judgement on its own actions. The Geneva Congress will decide whether the Council is worthy of the trust placed in it, or whether it has lightly abandoned the noble goal set before it.

I remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

H. JUNG.

For the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association

February 15, 1866

Published in *L'Echo de Verviers*, No. 43, February 20, 1866

Translated from the French

A WARNING[318]

Some time ago the London journeymen tailors formed a general association to uphold their demands against the London master tailors, who are mostly big capitalists. It was a question not only of bringing wages into line with the increased prices on articles of prime necessity, but also of putting an end to the exceedingly harsh treatment of the workers in this branch of industry. The masters sought to frustrate the plan by recruiting journeymen tailors, chiefly in Belgium, France and Switzerland. Thereupon the secretaries of the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association published in the Belgian, French and Swiss newspapers a warning which was a complete success. The London masters' manoeuvre was foiled; they had to lay down arms and meet their workers' just demands.

Defeated in England, the masters are now trying to take counter-steps, beginning with *Scotland*. The fact is that, as a result of the London events, they had to agree, in the beginning, to a 15 per cent wage rise in Edinburgh as well. But secretly they sent agents to Germany to recruit journeymen tailors, particularly in the Hannover and Mecklenburg areas for import to Edinburgh. The first group has already been shipped off. The purpose of this import is the same as that of the import of Indian* coolies to Jamaica, namely, *perpetuation of slavery*. If the Edinburgh masters succeeded, through the import of German labour, in nulli-

* "Asiatic" in the MS.—*Ed.*

fying the concessions they have already made, it would inevitably have repercussions in England. *No one would suffer more than the German workers themselves*, who constitute in Great Britain a larger number than the workers of all the other Continental nations. And the newly-imported workers, being completely helpless in a strange land, would soon sink to the position of pariahs.

Besides, it is a point of honour with the German workers to prove to other countries that they, like their brothers in France, Belgium and Switzerland, know how to defend the common interests of their class and will not become *obedient mercenaries of capital* in its struggle against labour.

On behalf of the Central Council* of the International Working Men's Association,

KARL MARX

London, May 4, 1866

German journeymen tailors who wish to know more about conditions in Britain are requested to address their letters to the German branch of the London Tailors' Association, c/o *Albert F. Haufe*, Crown Public House, Hedden Court, Regent Street, *London*.

Published in *Oberrheinischer Courier*, No. 113, May 15, 1866

Translated from the German

* "General Council" in the MS.—*Ed.*

TO THE PARIS STUDENTS, TO THE STUDENTS AND YOUNG PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES FROM THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES[319]

Students of Paris,

We heard the warm appeal which you addressed to your Italian and German brothers.[320] Our hearts throbbed with joy. We had been told that the brilliant student youth who were always ready to uphold a just cause were no more. But that is not so! They are very much alive! More ardent than ever, they are marching along the paths of the Revolution.

In the face of the universal blindness which the governments are exploiting to set the peoples at each other's throats, you found the courage to utter words of peace and concord, and we say to you:

Yes, we curse war just as you do, for it is we who have to bear the whole burden of it, we who are mowed down by the thousand in the battlefields.

Mankind has suffered long enough; it has submitted too long to the brutalising tyranny of force, and it is high time it banished all superstition from its heart and mind, high time it straightened its back and emphatically demanded justice.

Students and young people of all countries,

We, the disinherited, who carry a heavy yoke, we who produce the riches but do not enjoy them, appeal to your hearts.

Medical students, you know our suffering better than anyone else, you see us in hospitals, which are the only reward for a life full of toil and hardships.

Law students, you know of the shackles with which the law in all countries hampers our organisation.

Students of philosophy, whom science has freed from all superstition, recall the efforts you had to exert in order to achieve that result. Can we who toil without respite achieve as much?

Young people who like us have to earn your living, you know the back-breaking toil our crust of bread costs us!

We want, like you, to hold *our congress*. It will meet at Geneva on September 13 next. We want to come together to study pauperism, that ugly ulcer that is taking such a heavy toll of us; we want to find a remedy for it and to use that remedy at all costs.

And so from the depths of our misery we say to you who are young, in whom age has not yet cooled noble aspirations, and who, furthermore, are the hope of the future: join us, you will see our toil-hardened hands; come and cement our alliance. You will share your knowledge with us, and we, for our part, shall initiate you into the *mysteries of labour*. We shall come to know and love each other still better.

The poor have no country, in all lands they suffer from the same evils, and they therefore realise that the barriers put up by the powers that be the more thoroughly to enslave the people must fall. It is the poor, above all the poor, who will realise the dream of the gentle Anacharsis de Cloots, the *orator of the human race*, who will bring into being the great federation of the peoples. So come, young people, and help us accomplish this lofty task of the nineteenth century.

Then the social revolution which we are awaiting, and invoking with all our energy, will come about. Then man will not only become master of his person but also of his labour, for privileges will have disappeared, and parasites will be no more. The working people will then be the only ones to be held in esteem, peace and happiness will come to

reign on earth, and the unity of the human race will be established finally.

Dupont, musical instrument maker; *Marco*, fan-maker; John Hales, weaver; *James Dutton*, cartwright; *Jung*, watch-maker; *W. Hopkin*,* cabinet-maker; *Shaw* interior decorator; *Buckley*, mechanic; *Carter*, perfumer; *Eccarius*, tailor; *J. Weston*, carpenter; *Lessner*, tailor; *Le Lubez*, commercial traveller; *François Garow*, cabinet-maker; *Besson*, mechanic; *Mauriès*, tailor; *Lassassie*, hair-dresser, etc.

N. B. At the request of those who have drawn up this appeal, the Central Council of the *International Working Men's Association*, with headquarters at 18, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, London, undertakes to receive membership applications. It will make a list of them and publish it in the *Commonwealth*, its official organ. Europe will thus be able to judge the frame of mind and the aspirations of the working class.

The Central Council asks all to whom this appeal is addressed, all members of the *International Association*, and all newspapers which claim to represent democratic opinion, to acquaint the public with this appeal in every possible way. Besides, it will have it translated into all the relevant languages, and will instruct all its secretaries to circulate it to the corresponding members.

This appeal, the first of its kind, will lay the foundations for the cordial understanding which the *International Working Men's Association* is striving to achieve and which it will achieve.

Published in *Le Courrier Français*, June 10, 1866

Translated from the French

* Should read: H. Williams.—*Ed.*

EXPLANATORY NOTES

[1] The International's leading body, the Central Council, as it was named on October 18, 1864, was elected by a big international meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1864. The meeting, which had been called by leaders of the London trade unions jointly with a group of Paris Proudhonist workers, and attended by representatives of the German, Italian and other foreign workers living in London at the time, as well as by prominent European petty-bourgeois and revolutionary-democratic émigrés, adopted the resolution to found the International Working Men's Association—(afterwards known as the First International). The Central Council consisted of noted British trade-unionists like G. Odger, W. R. Cremer, B. Lucraft, G. Howell, R. Shaw, Blackmore, W. Stainsby, W. Pidgeon and J. Longmaid; men prominent in the British labour and democratic movement of the sixties, among them the bourgeois radicals W. Dell, G. W.Wheeler, J. Osborne, W. Worley, T. Facey, J. Nieass and E. Whitlock. Other members were: J. Weston, an Owenist; J. Leno, a former Chartist, active in the electoral reform movement of the 1860s; R. Hartwell, one of the editors of *The Bee-Hive*, weekly organ of the trade unions, and also a former Chartist; P. Fox, an English journalist and active participant in the labour and democratic movement of the sixties; Le Lubez, J. B. Bocquet and J. Denoual, representatives of the French petty-bourgeois émigrés in London; L. Wolff and D. Lama, members of the London organisation of Italian workers, the Mazzini Association of Mutual Progress. K. Marx and J. G. Eccarius were elected to the Council as the representatives of the German workers. The meeting had empowered the Central Council to co-opt new members. Later on, the Council, which at the end of 1866 finally came to be known as the General Council, was elected at the respective congresses of the International Working Men's Association.

From *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* report of October 8, 1864 (No. 156), it is evident that about 40 people were present at this meeting of the General Council. p. 35

[2] Here and elsewhere the word "amendment" is used in the sense adopted in British parliamentary procedure. p. 35

[3] The reference is to the *Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes*, founded in London in December 1863. The London Trades Council took an active part in the founding of this League. Its leadership included persons who were elected afterwards to the General Council of the International—Facey, Taylor, Worley, Dell, Odger. The League whose programme was bourgeois-philanthropic and cultural-educational in character had as its object to promote "the moral, social and physical welfare of the industrious classes of the whole world, without regard to the differences of nationality or of religious or political opinions". The League had its headquarters at 18, Greek Street, Soho, London. This was also the meeting place of the General Council of the Association from October 5, 1864 to January 2, 1866. p. 36

[4] The reference is to the *German Workers' Educational Association* (Deutscher-Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein), founded in London in February 1840 by Karl Schapper, Joseph Moll and other leaders of the League of the Just. In the early period of its existence the Association was strongly influenced by the utopian, equalitarian communism of Wilhelm Weitling. With the organisation of the Communist League, leadership of the Association passed entirely to the League's local sections. The Educational Association was in close connection with the English Socialists and Chartists, with the organisations of the Fraternal Democrats and the French Social-Democrats. Marx and Engels actively participated in its work in 1847 and in 1849-50. During November 1849-September 1850, Marx read a series of lectures there on political economy and on the basic ideas of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.

On September 17, 1850, Marx and Engels and several of their followers withdrew from the Association when it came out in support of the minority in the dispute between the majority of the Communist League's Central Committee, led by Marx and Engels, and the sectarian adventurist minority (the Willich-Schapper faction). At the close of the fifties Marx again took an active part in the work of the Association.

Besides its headquarters at 2, Nassau Street, Soho, in the tavern of G. Bolleter, a member of the Association, the latter, in the sixties, had two branches in the East and South of London, viz., the Eintracht and the Teutonia. After the founding of the International

many of the Association's members, including Eccarius, Kaub, Lessner, Bolleter and Lochner, were elected to the General Council where they played a notable role. For the Association's affiliation to the International see pp. 62-64 of the present volume. p. 37

[5] The reference is to the *Association of Mutual Progress* (Associazione di Mutuo Progresso), founded at the end of June 1864 by Italian workers resident in London. The society which had a membership of about 300 workers at the time it was established was under the influence of Mazzini. Garibaldi was elected honorary chairman. For the Association's affiliation to the International see pp. 60-61 of the present volume. p. 37

[6] The *Sub-Committee* was appointed to draft the programme documents of the International Working Men's Association. After it had completed this work it continued to meet once a week, as a rule, subsequently becoming the executive body of the General Council. In the summer of 1865 it also began to be called the Standing Committee. The Committee members included the General Council president, which post was abolished in September 1867 on Marx's proposal, the honorary general secretary, and the corresponding secretaries for different countries. Marx virtually led the work of the Standing Committee. In the spring of 1865 Le Lubez and Wolff left the General Council, followed by Pidgeon. Fox began to take an active part in the Standing Committee's work, as well as Dupont, Corresponding Secretary for France, and Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland. Shortly before the London Conference in 1865 the Standing Committee was reorganised and its composition renewed (see p. 129 of the present volume). p. 37

[7] Being unwell at the time, Marx was unable to attend this meeting of the Sub-Committee and the General Council meeting of October 11, 1864. On October 12 Eccarius wrote to Marx: "The letter of excuse sent me by your dear little daughter reached me only this morning at one o'clock, when I came home, and thus could not serve to explain your absence in the Committee. I am very sorry to learn that you are not feeling well, but hope with all my heart that your indisposition is not serious, and that it won't last long. You must absolutely impress the stamp of your *terseness, full of content,* upon the first-born child of the European workmen's organisation.

"Last Wednesday you were elected to the Sub-Committee, after we had left. Major Wolff could not explain your absence; your absence last night seemed even more incomprehensible; everyone

asked why you hadn't come. I could give no positive answer, of course, but with regard to the Sub-Committee, guessed that they probably hadn't notified you of the election nor of the time and place of its meeting, which proved to be true upon investigation. Mr. Cremer will let you know of the next meeting." See also Marx's letter to Engels of November 4, 1864. p. 38

[8] The text of the programme of the International Working Men's Association as drafted by the Owenist Weston has not been preserved. In his letter to Engels of November 4, 1864, Marx described this document as "full of the most extreme confusion" and "indescribable breadth". p. 38

[9] The Rules submitted by Wolff to the Sub-Committee meeting were an English translation of the "Brotherly Agreement Between the Italian Working Men's Associations", which had been published in *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie* in July 1864, and adopted by the congress of Italian working men's associations, held in Naples at the end of October 1864. In recommending these Rules, which were bourgeois-democratic in substance, to the International Working Men's Association, Mazzini and his followers had reckoned on seizing leadership of the international working-class movement. p. 38

[10] In his letter to Marx, dated October 12, Eccarius described in detail the discussion on the drafts submitted by Weston and Wolff at this meeting of the General Council:

"Regarding the absolute necessity of your being present at the next Sub-Committee meeting, I feel compelled to give you some information.

"You will remember that even last Wednesday Mr. Weston moved that the preliminaries for the platform of principles be discussed, and that he said he had drawn something up and was prepared to lay the material before the Committee for discussion. As it turned out yesterday evening, he had an elaborate paper, which under a sack of chaff contained a handful of grains, themselves of no decisive character. In the Sub-Committee he was commissioned to condense his paper, but his abbreviated product is no better than the original; it is a sentimental declamatory editorial on the matter, not the matter itself. Cremer publicly said that the paper would have to be shortened by three-quarters. Moreover, Major Wolff has translated a draft of by-laws for the Italian workmen's organisation and handed it in, which was received with approval on the whole. Both these documents were returned to the Sub-Committee, to make use of what was useful in them, to put them in shape, etc., and to draw up a single

document, containing the platform of principles and rules at the same time. After the meeting, Cremer said privately that Weston ought to have nothing to do with the matter, that the editing of the draft must be turned over to a commission of three at most, which could make use of the available material or could not as they saw fit. Odger and others agreed. 'The right man in the right place' will undoubtedly be Dr. Marx.

"Weston is an old Owenist, who confines the sentimental doctrine of the old school to the workmen, to be sure, and hates the oppressors instinctively, but seems to know no other basis for labour movements than the hackneyed phrase, truth and justice." p. 40

[11] After the unsuccessful attempt at this Council meeting to unite the International Working Men's Association and the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes (see Note 3), two of the League's leaders, Taylor and Facey, left the General Council (see p. 42 of the present volume). p. 40

[12] The Naples Congress of the Italian working men's associations was held on October 25-27, 1864; representatives from 25 organisations attended it. The congress adopted the Rules, called "Brotherly Agreement Between the Italian Working Men's Associations" (see Note 9). Wolff was not present at the congress. p. 40

[13] The reference is to the document adopted by the Sub-Committee at its meeting of October 15, 1864. It consisted of a preamble to the rules (programme) and the rules themselves, drafted originally by Weston and Wolff, and then rewritten by Le Lubez. The minutes of this meeting have not been preserved. Marx was not present, for Cremer's note informing him of the Sub-Committee meeting, posted on the day of the meeting, had not reached him in time. Cremer wrote:

"Respected Sir:

"The Sub-Committee meet this Saturday evening at the house of Mr. Weston, 80, White Cross St., and I am instructed to say, they will be very pleased with your presence; perhaps you are not aware that the General Committee in your absence elected you on the Sub-Committee; I was not aware or had forgotten that you had left the room when the Sub-Committee were elected, or I should have sooner communicated to you the fact of your election. I am, Sir, yours very respectfully,

W. R. Cremer,
Honorary Secretary."
p. 42

[14] An analysis of the General Council minutes for October 1864 and of Marx's letter to Engels of November 4, 1864, makes it possible to retrace how Marx drew up the International's programme documents. On October 8, at the first Sub-Committee meeting, Weston submitted his draft of a declaration of principles (see Notes 8 and 10) and Wolff—the Rules of the Italian working men's associations, which he had translated into English (see Note 9). On October 11, the General Council, after considering these two documents, referred them back to the Sub-Committee to be revised. At the Sub-Committee meeting of October 15, Le Lubez read the version he had drawn up on the basis of Weston's and Wolff's drafts. This version, which was discussed by the General Council at its meeting of October 18, consisted of a preamble, claiming to be a declaration of principles, and rules.

It was only at this meeting that Marx first had the opportunity to familiarise himself with the said documents, his opinion of which he expressed in his letter to Engels of November 4, 1864. Following a discussion, the declaration of principles and the rules were approved in the main by the General Council. Marx, however, managed to have them referred back to the Sub-Committee for final editing. On October 20 the Sub-Committee met at Marx's house; at that meeting they managed to edit only the first point of the rules. The next meeting of the Sub-Committee was to be held on October 27. This gave Marx the needed time to revise completely the documents in question. He wrote the Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, which was not in the original drafts; he altered the whole preamble, throwing out the declaration of principles written by Le Lubez, and reduced the 40 points of the rules to 10, changing the very principle of organisation and only retaining some points of a purely formal character (the name of the organisation, the decision to hold a congress in Brussels in 1865, help to members of the organisation when changing their places of residence, etc.).

On October 27 the Sub-Committee approved the Address and the Rules as drawn up by Marx. p. 44

[15] On November 2, the Liberal London daily *The Morning Star*, No. 2703, and on November 5, the trade-union weekly *The Bee-Hive*, No. 160, published a report of the General Council meeting of November 1, 1864, carrying inaccurate information. In particular, they reported that the General Council had passed a resolution to convene a congress of the International Working Men's

Association in Brussels in 1865, although no such resolution had been adopted; the compiler of the report had simply taken this information from Point 3 of the Provisional Rules. Furthermore, the same issue of *The Bee-Hive* had published the Inaugural Address without the knowledge of the General Council.

The Bee-Hive was published in London from 1861 to 1876 under the titles: *The Bee-Hive, The Bee-Hive Newspaper, The Penny Bee-Hive;* the paper was under the strong influence of bourgeois radicals and reformists. On November 22, 1864, the Ceneral Council decided to make *The Bee-Hive* the organ of the Association. The paper published the official documents of the International Working Men's Association and the reports of the Council meetings. On repeated occasions, however, Marx had been obliged to protest against the distorted or abridged version in which it printed the International's documents. In 1869 *The Bee-Hive* became, in effect, a bourgeois organ. On April 26, 1870, the General Council, on Marx's suggestion, decided to sever their connection with it. p. 45

[16] The reference is to the misprints made by *The Bee-Hive Newspaper,* No. 160, November 5, 1864, in the text of the Inaugural Address. By the word "Programme" is meant the preamble to the Rules (see pp. 288-89 of the present volume). p. 46

[17] What is meant here is holding the position, but without pay. p. 47

[18] An inaccuracy. The Provisional Rules were not published in *The Bee-Hive.* They formed part of a separate pamphlet, put out by *The Bee-Hive* publishers in the latter part of November 1864, under the title: *Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association, Established September 28, 1864 at a Public Meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London.* p. 47

[19] In *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* (No. 163, November 26, 1864) report of this meeting, the second resolution, submitted by Marx, is formulated as follows: "It was also decided that societies in London who join the Association shall have the power to elect a representative to sit on the Central Council, the Council reserving to itself the power to receive or reject such representative. With regard to societies in the provinces who may join, it was decided that they should have the power to elect a corresponding member of the Association." p. 49

[20] The address to Abraham Lincoln on his re-election as President of the United States was written, as is evident from Marx's let-

ter to Engels, dated December 2, 1864, by Marx and then endorsed by the Standing Committee and the said General Council meeting. In the same letter Marx gives a detailed account of the discussion that followed of how to present the address. A manuscript copy of the address signed by the Council's 57 members was sent to Adams, the American Minister in London.

The address to Lincoln was first published on December 23 in the London *Daily News*, then in *Reynolds's Newspaper*, No. 750, December 25, 1864, and subsequently in the German papers: *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 3, December 30, 1864, *Berliner Reform*; No. 4, January 5, and *Hermann*, No. 314, January 7; 1865.

[21] The report about this General Council meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 164, December 3, 1864, states that the resolution was also supported by Marx. p. 54

[22] The address of the British members of the General Council on Poland, drawn up by Fox in pursuance of the General Council decision of November 29, 1864, had first been discussed by the Sub-Committee on December 6. The address, which has not been preserved, was drawn up in a bourgeois-democratic spirit. As is evident from Marx's letter to Engels of December 10, 1864, Fox had argued that it was the traditional foreign policy of France to support Poland's independence. Marx emphatically took issue with this. He showed that France's ruling classes, beginning with the reign of Louis XV and right up to the time of Napoleon III, had demagogically exploited the struggle for the independence of Poland in their own selfish interests and had systematically betrayed the Poles to meet these interests. The Sub-Committee endorsed Fox's address on condition that he amend it in accordance with the proposals made by Marx. Jung, Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland, said that he would propose to the General Council that it should reject Fox's address because of its bourgeois character. p. 56

[23] In the summer of 1863 a group of British trade-unionists, who later became members of the General Council (Cremer, Odger, Facey, Howell, Worley, Wheeler and others), started a movement for electoral reform in England. In September 1863 they founded the Trade Unions' Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association. Odger was elected its president, Hartwell—secretary, and Trimlett—treasurer. p. 58

[24] The reference is to the weekly, Saturday morning papers. p. 59

[25] Marx has in mind the publication of the Inaugural Address in

Der Social-Demokrat, No. 2, December 21, and No. 3 (Beilage), December 30, 1864 under the heading: "Manifest an die arbeitende Klasse Europa's". The German translation of the Inaugural Address was made by Marx. p. 60

[26] Sections of the International began to be formed in Switzerland immediately following press reports about the meeting in St. Martin's Hall. On October 11, 1864, a group of Geneva workers, headed by Dupleix, a bookbinder, addressed a letter to Tolain informing him of the formation of a provisional committee in Geneva to establish contact with workers of other countries and asking him to send them the necessary instructions. This letter forwarded by Tolain to London was, as is apparent from Jung's letter of January 10, 1865 to Dupleix, read by Marx at the said meeting and received with much satisfaction. Jung sent Dupleix the Rules of the Association and recommended, on behalf of the General Council, that the Swiss workers form a central committee for the whole of Switzerland and that they establish regular contact with the General Council in London. p. 60

[27] The General Council's address to President Lincoln appeared in the English press in the latter part of December 1864 (see Note 20). *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, although the Council's organ, published it only on January 7, 1865 (No. 169), after the said decision had been passed. p. 60

[28] The address of the British members of the General Council to the Polish people, which was drawn up by Fox (see Note 22), was the subject of a long discussion at the Council meetings of December 13 and 20, 1864, and January 3, 1865. Marx took the floor on this question twice—on December 13 and January 3. On the basis of a wealth of factual material on the relations between Poland and France Marx showed that Fox idealised the traditional foreign policy of France's ruling classes towards Poland, and exposed the reactionary nature of the policy pursued by the governments of Russia, Prussia and Austria on the Polish question. Marx attached great importance to the discussion of the Polish question in the International for it enabled the workers in the respective countries to criticise the foreign policy of their own governments. Furthermore, he regarded the Polish national-liberation movement as a force capable of undermining Russian tsarism and accelerating the development of the revolutionary-democratic movement in Russia herself.

The speech made by Marx at this meeting was not published. p. 61

[29] The decision to invite the bourgeois radicals Beesly, Beales and Harrison to the soirée to celebrate the founding of the Association had been taken by the General Council at its meeting of December 29, 1864 and recorded in the minutes of that meeting (see p. 58 of the present volume). The report of that meeting was not published, and Cremer, when he sent the report of the meeting of January 3, 1865 to the papers, included the said decision in it and recorded it for a second time in the Minute Book. Besides, he inserted in the decision, on his own initiative, Grossmith's name who, as a General Council member, did not have to be specially invited. The report appeared on January 7 in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 169 and in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 97. Marx who was visiting Engels in Manchester at the time sent Jung a letter on January 8 in which he protested against the inclusion of Grossmith's name in the minutes and warned the General Council against the attempts of some leaders to use it as an instrument for furthering their own petty ambitions. As is evident from Jung's reply of January 11, 1865, Marx's protest was read at the General Council meeting of January 10. Cremer admitted his mistake and Grossmith's name was crossed out of the minutes of January 3. p. 62

[30] The resolution was also published in *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 7, January 11, 1865. p. 63

[31] The British *National League for the Independence of Poland* was founded in London on July 28, 1863. Its establishment was preceded by the famous meeting held in St. James's Hall on July 22, 1863, in connection with the suppression of the Polish insurrection. The meeting, which was one of the harbingers in the founding of the International, was attended by British trade-unionists and democrats, as well as by a French workers' delegation from Paris. The meeting resolved to send a delegation to the Foreign Secretary, John Russell, to hand in a protest against the British Government's double-faced policy towards the Polish insurgents. Russell refused to receive the delegation, and a second meeting was called on July 28, 1863, this time on the premises of *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, at which the League was founded. Edmond Beales was elected president and John R. Taylor—honorary secretary. Jan Kurzyna, who was connected with the democratic wing of the Polish émigrés (Bobczynski, Oborski, Zabicki and others), was the London representative of the National Government of Poland which had directed the insurrection of 1863-64. p. 64

[32] The reference is to a meeting held in Greenwich, London, on January 15, 1865, at which the General Council members Le Lubez, Odger, Morgan and Nusperli had expounded the aims and tasks of the International Working Men's Association. The meeting had recognised the need for an international organisation of the working class and pledged to further the success of the Association in every possible way. It resolved to establish a branch of the Association in Greenwich and elected a committee of seven which was empowered to co-opt new members. Nusperli was elected a member of the committee. p. 66

[33] Dupleix's letter from Switzerland, dated January 17, was in reply to Jung's letter of January 10, 1865 (see Note 26). Dupleix reported that the Geneva Committee was campaigning for the establishment of sections of the International Association in Switzerland and asked that all General Council publications therefore be forwarded to him. p. 66

[34] The reference is to Wilhelm Liebknecht's letter to Marx, dated January 21, 1865 (see p. 263 of the present volume). The affiliation of the General Association of German Workers to the International was impeded not only by the police regime in Prussia, but also by the sectarian stand of the Lassallean leadership in the Association. (For more details see Liebknecht's report, sent to the London Conference, on pp. 251-60 of the present volume.) p. 66

[35] The reference is to a letter, dated January 2, 1865, from Joseph Weydemeyer, a former member of the Communist League and friend of Marx and Engels. After the defeat of the 1848-49 Revolution Weydemeyer emigrated to the United States where he fought in the Civil War of 1861-65, on the side of the North. Towards the close of 1864 he was appointed military commander of St. Louis. On November 29, 1864, Marx wrote to Weydemeyer informing him of the founding of the International Working Men's Association and sent him four copies of the Inaugural Address. Weydemeyer in his letter wrote that he was going to publish the Inaugural Address in the local workers' paper *St. Louis Daily Press* as well as in the New York democratic paper *World*. p. 66

[36] The Paris section of the International Association was formed at the end of 1864. It was founded by the Proudhonist workers, Henri Tolain and Charles Limousin, both of whom had participated in the inaugural meeting held at St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864. Early in January 1865 the section put out a French translation of the Provisional Rules, which contained a number of inaccuracies and distortions; in particular,

in the third paragraph of the Preamble ("that the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means"), the words "as a means" were omitted.

Besides the Tolain group, Henri Lefort, a French lawyer, who had also taken part in the inaugural meeting of September 28, likewise laid claim to being one of the founders of the International and the representative of the French workers. Lefort was in touch with Le Lubez, Corresponding Secretary for France, and with French petty-bourgeois émigrés in England. On January 13, 1865, the Lassallean organ *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 8, printed a statement by Moses Hess in which he accused Tolain of being in contoct with Bonapartist circles. When Marx, upon his return from Manchester on January 16, read this he immediately wrote to J.-B. Schweitzer in Berlin and to Victor Schily in Paris. In his letter to Schily he asked the latter to look into the matter; in his letter to Schweitzer he strongly protested against Hess's insinuations against the International Working Men's Association and warned that he would publicly break with the paper if such accusations were repeated. On January 19 Schily informed Marx that the slanderous accusation against Tolain emanated from persons close to the journal *L'Association*, the organ of the French co-operative societies, whose editorial board included Lefort. Schily promised to send additional information in the near future.

The proposal temporarily to postpone the sending of membership cards to Paris was made by Marx at this meeting, as his letter to Engels, dated January 25, 1865, indicates. p. 67

[37] The corresponding place in the minutes of January 24, 1865 carries no alterations. Cremer most probably recorded the minutes in the Minute Book after they had been confirmed at the said meeting. p. 67

[38] Adams's letter to Cremer was published in *The Times*, February 6, 1865. In a letter to Liebknecht, written in February 1865, Marx noted that Lincoln's reply to the Association's address on his re-election as President was the only one of all his replies to the congratulatory messages that "was not merely a *formal* confirmation of receipt". p. 69

[39] The reference is to the editorial in *the St. Louis Daily Press*. The same issue published excerpts from the Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association. Marx received the paper from Weydemeyer on January 31, 1865. p. 69

[40] The Brussels letter from Léon Fontaine, a member of the democratic Universal Federation in Belgium, written on January 29, 1865, was in reply to a letter, dated January 18, from Le Lubez, Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, *pro tem.*, in which he had enclosed the Inaugural Address and the Rules. Fontaine's letter was included in the report of the said General Council meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 173, February 4, 1865. p. 69

[41] The reference is to the preliminary meeting of electoral reformers that was being called by a group of bourgeois radicals on February 6, 1865 in London Tavern, in preparation for a bigger meeting to be held in St. Martin's Hall on February 23, 1865. p. 70

[42] In a letter to Engels, dated February 1, 1865, Marx gives a detailed account of the consistently democratic stand on the electoral reform movement upheld by the General Council at this meeting. After informing Engels of the invitation received by the Council from the bourgeois radicals to attend the meeting in St. Martin's Hall, Marx writes: "Without the trade unions no mass meeting is possible and without us the trade unions are not to be had. This is also the reason why the gentlemen are applying to us.... On my motion it was decided: 1) To send the deputation merely as 'observers' (in my motion I excluded foreigners, but Eccarius and Lubez were elected as 'English' and as *silent* witnesses); 2) So far as the meeting is concerned, to act with them if, in the *first* place, manhood suffrage is directly and openly proclaimed in the programme, and in the *second*, if *people elected by us* are brought on to the *regular* Committee, so that they can watch the fellows and when the *fresh treachery*, which, as I made clear to them all, is *certainly planned*, takes place, can compromise them." p. 70

[43] The letter was from Fribourg. In it he informed Le Lubez that in connection with the General Council decision of January 24, Tolain had expressed his readiness to resign if this would expedite the receipt of membership cards from London. p. 71

[44] Lefort's appointment as the International's literary defender in Paris had been made on his own request (see p. 266 of the present volume). Marx supported his candidacy because he had assumed from Schily's letter (February 5, 1865) that the conflict in the Paris section was settled, and hoped to draw into the International French workers active in the co-operative movement, and also to utilise the journal *L'Association* to propagate the ideas of the International. p. 71

[45] Marx's information was based on a letter from Ernest Jones, dated February 13, 1865, in which he wrote:

"My dear Marx! I forgot to ask you in my last letter to enrol me as a member of the International Association; and if you send me a dozen cards I dare say I could get a dozen members." p. 72

[46] Jones's letter, dated February 10, 1865, was in reply to Marx's letter of February 1 (the letter has not been preserved), in which Marx outlined a plan for drawing the broad mass of British workers into the electoral reform movement under the leadership of the General Council. In his reply, written with a view to being read at the Council, Jones expressed his agreement with the measures outlined, and stressed, in particular, the need to counter the propaganda conducted by the liberal-bourgeois National Reform Union, which had its headquarters in Manchester, with a broad working-class movement under the slogan of manhood suffrage. p. 72

[47] The reference is to the German weekly, *Nordstern*, published in Hamburg from 1860 to 1866. In 1863 the weekly became the organ of the Lassalleans; J. Ph. Becker's reports about the International's sections in Switzerland appeared in its columns in 1865-66.

On February 11, 1865, the *Nordstern*, No. 296, carried Becker's report of February 4 about the Geneva section's meeting held on January 27 (the section was founded in October 1864. See Note 26). The meeting had also been attended by representatives of the German social-republican people's union of which Becker was the President. The meeting approved the Provisional Rules of the International Association and elected a committee of seven. Subsequently it was resolved to enlarge the committee with representatives from the different working men's associations in Geneva. p. 72

[48] The reference is to Tolain's letter to Le Lubez, dated February 10, 1865, in which he strongly objected, in connection with Lefort's appointment as the Association's literary defender in Paris, to the appointment of non-workers as Association officials. p. 72.

[49] The London branch of the Operative Society of Bricklayers, founded in England in 1829, had about 4,000 members at the beginning of the sixties. Edwin Coulson was the Society's General Secretary. Howell was appointed the London branch's representative on the General Council on February 21, 1865. p. 72

[50] From Marx's letter to Engels, dated February 25, 1865, it is evident that when Marx informed Schily of his appointment he gave him special instructions which, judging from Schily's reply of February 25-28, were as follows: to see to it that the General Council retained the right to keep a check on the affairs of the Paris section and on no account to allow the Paris section, which had the support of a sizable part of the Paris proletariat, to withdraw from the International. p. 74

[51] Beales's letter contained an invitation to the General Council members to take part in a big public meeting in London that was being sponsored by the electoral reformers. The meeting which was held in St. Martin's Hall, on Thursday, February 23, 1865, with the active participation of General Council representatives, passed a decision to found a Reform League. It also elected a delegation which included, besides trade-unionists and bourgeois radicals, several Council members—Odger, Cremer, Weston, Dell, Hartwell, Wheeler, Leno, Nieass and Howell—to negotiate with the representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie, regarding joint struggle for electoral reform. Marx considered the results of the meeting to be most satisfactory. In his letter to Engels of February 25 he wrote: "The International Association has managed to constitute the majority in the committee, elected to found the new Reform League, in such a way that the *entire leadership is* in our hands." p. 74

[52] In the report about this meeting of the General Council, published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 176, February 25, the discussion that followed on the suffrage movement is dealt with in greater detail. The report reads: "A long discussion followed relative to the suffrage movement which is being inaugurated, and it was unanimously agreed that nothing short of Manhood Suffrage would receive the consideration or support of the Council. It was also agreed to keep a watchful eye on those who are to be in the front ranks. Working men have been so often deceived, it becomes their duty to be doubly watchful." p. 74

[53] Marx attached the utmost importance to the adoption of this resolution. In his letter to Engels of February 25, 1865, he wrote: "Incidentally, other parliamentarians, like Taylor, etc. (gentlemen who are connected with Mazzini), have the temerity to inform us that it was *inopportune* at present to hold a *Polish* meeting. I replied through our Council that the working class has its own foreign policy and is not at all guided by what the middle class consider opportune or inopportune. The middle class

always thought it the right thing to goad on the Poles at the beginning of a new outbreak, to betray them during its progress by their diplomacy, and to desert them when Russia had thrown them down. In fact, the purpose of the meeting is primarily to obtain financial support. Do these unfortunate émigrés (*this time mostly* working men and peasants, which is why they are not receiving any support from Prince Zamoiski and Co.) have to starve to death because the English middle class just now think it inopportune to mention even the name of Poland?" p. 75

[54] The reference is to Jones's letter to Marx, dated February 25, 1865, in which he wrote about the success of the suffrage movement in Manchester, welcomed the founding of the Reform League (see Note 51) and invited a delegation of the League to be present at a big meeting to be held in Manchester in support of manhood suffrage. p. 75

[55] *Der Social-Demokrat,* organ of the General Association of German Workers, was published in Berlin from December 15, 1864 to 1871, at first three times a week and then, beginning with July 1865, daily. Schweitzer was the paper's editor in 1864-65. Not having any other press organ for the propaganda of their ideas in Germany, Marx and Engels had agreed to collaborate with *Der Social-Demokrat* when it was launched. A further inducement was the fact that its platform contained no specifically Lassallean slogans, and that Liebknecht was to be its unofficial editor. *Der Social-Demokrat* published the Inaugural Address of the Association and also an article on Proudhon, written specially for the paper by Marx on Schweitzer's request. However, it soon became clear to Marx and Engels that Schweitzer was pursuing a policy of compromise with Bismarck's Junker government and in their statement of February 23, 1865, they publicly announced their refusal to collaborate any further with *Der Social-Demokrat.*

[56] The Sub-Committee meeting, held together with the French delegates Tolain and Fribourg, met on March 4 and 6, 1865. The Sub-Committee adopted the following resolutions which were drafted by Marx and are extant in his note-book:

"1) The present Paris branch Administration, consisting of Citizens Tolain, Fribourg, and Limousin, is confirmed in its functions by the London Central Council, which also expresses them its thanks for their zeal and activity;

"2) The adjunction of Citizen *Pierre Vinçard* to the Paris branch Administration is thought desirable;

"3) While thanking Citizen Lefort for the part he took in the foundation of the International Society, and earnestly wishing for his collaboration, as *homme de conseil,* with the Paris branch Administration, the London Central Council at the same time consider themselves not entitled to impose Citizen Lefort in any official capacity upon the Paris branch Administration.

"4) Citizen *Victor Schily* is appointed the Paris *delegate* of the London Central Council.

"In this character he has to act only with the Paris branch *Administration.* He will exercise that *droit de surveillance* which the Paris branch themselves have thought proper to acknowledge as a necessary attribute of the Central Council under the present political conjuncture."

The final text of the resolutions was confirmed by the General Council on March 7 and recorded in the Minute Book. p. 76

[57] On February 24, 1865, the Paris section of the International called a meeting in connection with the appointment of Lefort as the Association's literary defender in Paris. The meeting, while recognising the General Council's right to supervise the activities of the local branches, strongly protested against the attempts of the bourgeois republican Lefort to exploit the General Council decision in order to seize leadership of the Paris section. The meeting adopted a resolution, drafted by Limousin, to the effect that if the purely working-class character of the Association and of the forthcoming congress was to be preserved, only workers should hold leading positions in the organisation. The meeting unanimously endorsed the activities of Fribourg, Tolain and Limousin. The resolution, which was signed by 32 members of the Paris section, was brought to London by Tolain and Fribourg. p. 77

[58] Marx, judging from his letter to Jung, dated March 13, 1865, was dissatisfied with the final wording of the said resolution; he believed that too many concessions were being made to Lefort. p. 77

[59] The Proudhonists' erroneous view that only workers should hold official positions in working-class organisations was finally smashed at the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866. During the discussion of the Rules and Regulations, Tolain, a French delegate, proposed that Point 11, which reads "that every member of the International Working Men's Association has the right to elect and to be elected", should be amended, declaring that only persons directly engaged in manual labour should be elected delegates to congresses of the International. Tolain met with a decisive rebuff on the part of the rest of the delegates.

Cremer and Carter in their speeches emphasised that the International owed its existence to many citizens not engaged in manual labour. In this connection they particularly noted Marx's services who, as Cremer stated, had made the triumph of the working class his life's work. Tolain's amendment was rejected. p. 77

[60] The co-operation of Pierre Vinçard, working-class publicist and veteran of the 1848 Revolution, to the Paris Administration was meant to make the revolutionary and socialist traditions of the French working-class movement of the forties more widely known to the International's members in France. Vinçard, however, as is evident from his letter to Dupont, dated April 30, 1865, declined this appointment for reasons of health. p. 78

[61] When this resolution was sent to Paris, private instructions to Schily were enclosed to the effect that the Lefort group could, depending upon the circumstances, be allowed to form an independent section of the International in Paris. p. 79

[62] Schily did not accept his appointment as General Council representative on the Paris Administration and informed Marx of this in a letter, dated March 20, 1865. p. 80

[63] The meeting at Radleys Hotel between the delegation, elected at the meeting of February 23 (see Note 51), and representatives of the bourgeoisie, was attended by some 20 trade-union delegates, among them several General Council members, and as many representatives of the bourgeoisie, including four M.P.s. John Bright, Free-Trade leader, proposed campaigning only for household suffrage. The demand for manhood suffrage was turned down by the representatives of the bourgeoisie, and consequently no agreement was reached on joint action.

On March 16 Odger reported, on behalf of the delegation, on the results of the Radleys Hotel meeting to a special trade-union meeting in St. Martin's Hall. The meeting endorsed the resolution of February 23 to found the Reform League and elected a committee to draft the League's rules. p. 81

[64] At the preliminary electoral reform meeting held in St. Martin's Hall on February 23, 1865 some trade-union leaders had declared that they were prepared to make some concessions to the bourgeoisie. In view of this *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 177, March 4, 1865, published a letter by Weston in which he urged the delegates who had been elected on February 23 to insist on the demand for manhood suffrage in their forthcoming talks with the bourgeois liberals. p. 83

[65] On May 9, 1865 Odger was elected a member of the General Council delegation to the Manchester Conference instead of Howell who was sent as the Reform League's representative. p. 83

[66] Fribourg's letter dealt with the conflict in the Paris section and, in particular, with Le Lubez's negative attitude to the appointment of Schily. Our knowledge of Fribourg's letter comes from Jung's letter to Marx, dated March 22, 1865. p. 83

[67] In April 1865, Lefort wrote a letter to *L'Association*, No. 6, in which he announced his withdrawal from the International. p. 83

[68] The reference is to A. A. Walton's *History of the Landed Tenures of Great Britain and Ireland, from Norman Conquest to the Present Time*, London, 1865, 20 copies of which the author presented to the General Council on August 1, 1865. Marx refers to Walton's book in *Capital*, Vol. III, Part VI, "Transformation of Surplus-Profit into Ground-Rent", Chapter XXXVII.—Introduction. p. 85

[69] The Lyons section of the International was founded in the beginning of 1865 by a group of Left republicans, participants in the 1848 Revolution; some of the members were Blanquists. Adrien Schettel, a mechanic, was elected the section's correspondent, in which capacity he informed the General Council of its establishment. The General Council sent the Lyons section about 500 membership cards. p. 85

[70] The report of this meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 181, April 1, 1865, gives a more detailed account of Cremer's report of the deputation's visit to the Shoemakers' Union: "Citizen Cremer, General Secretary, reported the result of an interview between a deputation from the Central Council, consisting of Citizens Cremer, Eccarius, Weston, Jung, Fox, Le Lubez, Morgan, Dell, and Wheeler, and the delegates of the National Shoemakers' Union, lately sitting at the Bell, Old Bailey. The delegates were 38 in number, and represented societies numbering about 5,000 members. Mr. Thomas, the delegate from Birmingham, moved, and the delegate from Hull seconded, the following resolution, which was carried unanimously, after one or two other delegates had expressed themselves in favour of the same." Then follows the text of the resolution. p. 86

[71] Whitlock was apparently reporting on the Rules of the Reform League. These Rules, drawn up with the direct participation of members of the General Council, were discussed by the special drafting committee at its meeting of March 20 (see Note 63) and

adopted at a public meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, on March 23, 1865. The League's objects were formulated as follows in the Rules:

Objects

"1.—To procure the extension of the election franchise to every resident and registered adult male person of sound mind, and unconvicted of crime.

"2.—To obtain for the voter the protection of the ballot.

Means

"The League will endeavour to accomplish the above objects by means of branch associations, public meetings, lectures, conferences, requiring pledges from candidates, and such other means as the Executive Council may from time to time determine." p. 86

[72] On March 22, 1865, at a meeting of the General Association of German Workers in Hamburg, its president, Bernhard Becker, made a slanderous speech against the International, as well as against Marx, Engels and Liebknecht. The speech was published in the supplement to *Der Social-Demokrat*, No. 39, March 26, 1865. The International's reply, signed by Bolleter, appeared in *Nordstern*, No. 306, April 22, 1865. Marx administered a rebuff to Becker in an article "The President of Mankind", which was printed in *Berliner Reform*, No. 88, April 13, 1865. p. 87

[73] The questions submitted by Weston were discussed in the General Council during May-August 1865 (at its meetings of May 2, 20 and 23, June 20 and 27, July 4 and 18, and August 15, 1865). In the course of this discussion Marx, to refute Weston's erroneous views, read a report known as "Wages, Price and Profit" (see Note 108). p. 88

[74] On April 15, 1865, Marx wrote Fontaine a letter in which he enclosed the text of the General Council's official decision appointing Marx corresponding secretary, *pro tem.*, for Belgium instead of Le Lubez who had resigned from the post. p. 89

[75] The reference is to Charles Longuet, editor of the democratic weekly *La Rive Gauche*, which started publication in Paris on October 20, 1864. On March 12, 1865 the paper published Longuet's pamphlet "La Dynastie des La Palice", which was directed against the Second Empire. The author was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment and the paper was suppressed. Publication was renewed on May 14, 1865 in Brussels where continued to

appear up to August 5, 1866. The paper published documents of the General Council and information about the International Association's activities. p. 89

[76] The reference is to a letter written jointly by Dupleix and Falconnet to Jung on April 9, 1865. Besides the information recorded in the said minutes, they wrote that the Rules of the International Working Men's Association had been discussed and adopted at a general meeting of the Geneva section. The letter further noted that the membership of the sections which were being formed in Switzerland was still small but there was every likelihood that it would increase.

The letter was signed by the members of the committees of the Geneva section. p. 92

[77] The reference is, apparently, to one of the two letters Jones wrote to Marx on April 22 and 24, 1865, in which he informed him about the headway being made by the suffrage movement in Manchester and about the Reform Conference to be held in Free Trade Hall on Tuesday, May 9, 1865. p. 92

[78] Soon it became clear that Fontaine had no contacts with the working masses and had taken no steps to propagate the International in Belgium; in the letter read by Marx he sought to justify his inactivity. The International's first section in Belgium was founded on July 17, 1865 with the direct participation of De Paepe, Belgian Socialist and working-class publicist. p. 92

[79] At a general meeting on March 21, 1865, the Leipzig compositors passed a decision to demand higher wage rates. In reply to the refusal of the employers to meet their demand, the Leipzig Compositors' Union declared a strike involving some 650 workers. On April 15, the Berlin Compositors' Union, of which Liebknecht was one of the leaders, sent a letter to the General Council asking it to support the Leipzig compositors.

This letter is quoted in the report of the said Council meeting, published in *The Bee-Hive*, No. 185, April 29, 1865. p. 92

[80] *The Emancipation Society* was founded in London in November 1862 by a group of bourgeois radicals. It supported the London Trades Council in its campaign against Britain entering the American Civil War (1861-65) on the side of the slave-owning South. Beales was an active member of the Society. p. 92

[81] The reference is to the reorganisation of the Paris Administration; Marx communicated this information on the basis of Schily's letter to him, dated April 27, 1865. As a result of this

reorganisation the International strengthened its ties with local workers' organisations, and several new members, among them Varlin and Camélinat, entered the Paris Administration. p. 93

[82] During their visit to London at the end of February and the beginning of March 1865, Tolain and Fribourg gave Le Lubez a letter which the Paris Administration had received from Lefebvre, the Association's correspondent in Neufchâteau. As Corresponding Secretary for France, Le Lubez had corresponded with Lefebvre and tried to set him against the General Council and Paris Administration. Le Lubez's intrigues were discovered only after Dupont had been appointed the new corresponding secretary for France. The issue became a particularly sharp one when Le Lubez tried again to become a member of the General Council as the representative of the Greenwich branch of the Association. The question was discussed at the Sub-Committee meeting of May 6, 1865 (see pp. 95-96 of the present volume). p. 93

[83] See Note 73. p. 94

[84] See Note 79. p. 94

[85] The address of the International Working Men's Association to President Johnson was written by Marx between May 2 and 9 and published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 188, May 20, 1865 (see pp. 294-96 of the present volume). p. 96

[86] The Reform League's leading bodies (see Notes 51, 63 and 71)—the Council and the more narrow Executive Committee—were elected at the end of March 1865. The Executive Committee, which originally consisted of 12 members, included six General Council members (Cremer, Lino, Nieass, Odger, Howell and Eccarius). Howell was elected honorary secretary. In a letter to Engels, dated May 13, 1865, Marx wrote: "Without us this Reform League would never have been founded or would have fallen into the hands of the middle class." In connection with the convocation of the Manchester Conference the League issued an address to the working class to campaign for manhood suffrage (see *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 187, May 13, 1865). p. 97

[87] The reference is to the Orsini plot (January 14, 1858) to assassinate Napoleon III. The plot miscarried and Orsini and two of his accomplices were sentenced to death. p. 97

[88] The special General Council meeting to discuss Weston's questions (see Note 73) was held, as resolved, on May 20, at 8 o'clock in

the evening. The minutes of this meeting are not extant. In a letter to Engels, dated May 20, 1865, Marx gave the substance of Weston's propositions and his chief objections to them. Marx wrote: "...This evening a special session of the International. A good old fellow, an old Owenist, *Weston* (carpenter) has put forward the following two propositions, which he is continually defending in *The Bee-Hive:* 1) that a general rise in the rate of wages would be of no use to the workers; 2) that therefore, etc., the trade unions have a *harmful* effect. If these two propositions, in which *he* alone in our society believes, were accepted, we should be turned into a joke both on account of the trade unions here and of the infection of strikes which now prevails on the Continent.... I am of course expected to supply the refutation. I therefore ought really to have worked out my reply for this evening, but thought it more important to write on at my book [*Capital*] and so shall have to depend upon improvisation.

"Of course I know beforehand what the two main points are: 1) that *wages* determine the value of commodities; 2) that if the capitalists pay 5 instead of 4 shillings today, they will sell their commodities for 5 instead of 4 shillings tomorrow (being enabled to do so by the increased demand).

"Inane though this is, attaching itself only to the most superficial external appearance, it is nevertheless not easy to explain to ignorant people all the economic questions which compete with one another here. You can't compress a course of political economy into one hour. But we shall do our best." p. 97

[89] *The New York Daily Tribune*—a bourgeois newspaper that appeared from 1841 to 1924; advocated a progressive policy in the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century. Marx collaborated with the paper from October 1851 to March 1862; Engels wrote a large number of the articles for it on Marx's request. This collaboration with the paper discontinued in the early period of the American Civil War. One of the main reasons that impelled Marx to sever all relations with *The New York Daily Tribune* was its growing advocacy of compromising with the slave-holding South and, in consequence, its departure from its progressive positions.

The paper published the General Council's address to President Johnson on June 1, 1865, under the heading: "The Working Men of Europe to President Johnson". p. 97

[90] The reference is to the electoral reform movement in England. p. 98

[91] See *The Manchester Guardian*, May 16, 1865. p. 98

[92] The reference is to a letter from Schettel, the Association's correspondent in Lyons; excerpts from it were printed in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper* report (No. 189, May 27, 1865) of the said meeting. In his letter Schettel wrote about the strike of the Lyons operatives, and asked that 500 membership cards of the International Association be sent to him as soon as possible. He also informed the Association that the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules had been printed in Lyons. p. 99

[93] The reference is to Le Lubez's letter to Lefebvre, excerpts from which the latter communicated to Dupont (see Note 82). p. 99

[94] The national Reform Conference was held in Manchester on May 15-16, 1865. The General Council which had received an invitation to take part in it had appointed its delegation on March 21 (see pp. 82-83 and 96-97 of the present volume) and instructed it to insist on the demand for manhood suffrage. The conference was attended by about 200 delegates, the bulk of whom represented the bourgeoisie. The point at issue was the nature of reform. As distinct from the amorphous, vague demands for electoral reform advanced by the bourgeoisie, Cremer declared that the London working men had instructed their delegates to vote for nothing short of manhood suffrage and that they would agree to nothing less. Cremer was supported by Jones and Howell. The representatives of the bourgeoisie, however, rejected Cremer's proposal by 95 votes to 50. Because of the indecision of Taylor, Beales and other bourgeois radicals the conference carried a resolution to extend the franchise only to householders who paid local poor-rates. The report on the Manchester Conference was published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 188, May 20, 1865. p. 100

[95] See Notes 73 and 88. p. 100

[96] The resolution on this question was published together with the report of the General Council meeting in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 190, June 3, 1865. p. 102

[97] The publication of this paper which was to be called *The Commoner* did not materialise (see p. 106 of the present volume). p. 105

[98] Marx read his report "Wages, Price and Profit" at two General Council meetings—on June 20 and 27, 1865. p. 105

[99] On May 25, 1865, Mulchinock, Secretary of the Deptford and Greenwich branch, had inquired of Le Lubez, who represented the branch in the General Council, why contact had been broken off between the branch and the General Council. On Sunday, May 28,

the branch held a special meeting which, following Le Lubez's communication, resolved to ask the General Council to look into the matter. On May 29 Mulchinock sent the said resolution to Cremer. p. 105

[100] The leaflet inviting working men's societies in Britain to join the International Association was issued in the summer of 1865 under the heading "International Working Men's Association. Central Council, 18, Greek Street, London, W. Trade, Friendly, or any Working Men's Societies are invited to join...". The text was based on the resolutions on the conditions of affiliation to the International Association, adopted by the General Council on Marx's proposal (see p. 49 and pp. 297-98 of the present volume. The General Council simultaneously printed a special application form for organisations wishing to join the Association. p. 105

[101] The reference is to the letter written by Falconnet and Dupleix to Jung on June 2, 1865. p. 107

[102] *La Tribune Ouvrière*—French labour weekly. The editorial staff included members of the International's section in Paris—Tolain, Fribourg, Varlin and others; Limousin was the publisher. The first four issues were printed in Paris in June 1865; after the paper was suppressed in France its publication was transferred to Brussels where one more number appeared on July 9, 1865. Publication was stopped because of the difficulties of getting it into France. p. 107

[103] The reference is to Bagnagatti's letter to Cremer, dated June 14, 1865. p. 109

[104] See Note 100. p. 109

[105] In taking issue with Weston's erroneous views (see Note 88) Marx showed in his report that Weston was, in effect, advocating passivity and submision by the proletariat to capitalist exploitation. Marx's criticism of Weston was at the same time a criticism of the Proudhonists, as well as of the Lassalleans, since they too underestimated the importance of the economic struggle of the proletariat and took a negative stand on the trade unions. In his report, which is a classical example of a comprehensive explanation of complex theoretical propositions of political economy in a form accessible to the workers, Marx substantiated the role and significance of the economic struggle and its relation to the ultimate goal of the proletariat—abolution of the wage system. Marx's report was directed also against the narrow

outlook and reformism of the British trade-unionists who reduced the tasks of the working-class movement merely to a struggle for day-to-day needs. p. 109

[106] The reference is to the vote taken at the General Council meeting of June 13, 1865, (see p. 108 of the present volume) on Wolfff's re-admission to the International Working Men's Association. p. 111

[107] In conclusion Marx proposed the following resolutions:

"Firstly. A general rise in the rate of wages would result in a fall of the general rate of profit, but, broadly speaking, not affect the prices of commodities.

"Secondly. The general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages.

"Thirdly. Trades Unions work well as centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital. They fail partially from an injudicious use of their power. They fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organised forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say, the ultimate abolition of the wages system" (see Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1958, p. 447). p. 111

[108] Regarding the suggestion made by General Council members that the discussion material should be published, Marx wrote to Engels on June 24, 1865:

"On the one hand this would perhaps be useful for they are connected with John Stuart Mill, Professor Beesly, Harrison, etc. On the other hand I am hesitant for

1) to have 'Mr. Weston' as an opponent is not very flattering,

2) the second part of my report contains, in an extremely condensed, but relatively popular form, much that is new, taken in advance from my book, while at the same time it has necessarily to slur over all sorts of things. The question therefore arises, is it advisable to anticipate things in such a way?"

Marx's report was published only in 1898 by his daughter, Eleanor Marx, under the title "Value, Price and Profit". p. 111

[109] Fox has in mind the House of Commons' debate on July 3, 1865, when the Speaker called Hennessy, M. P., to order for trying to have a third proposal debated before the initial resolution and amendment to it had been voted on. p. 112

[110] In connection with the strike of the Lyons tulle operatives (see p. 99 of the present volume), the Association's correspondent

in Lyons, Adrien Schettel, had asked the General Council for information about the price and the manufacture of tulle in England. As is evident from the General Council minutes, Dupont managed to send the requisite information to Lyons in the first part of June 1865. Cremer's trip to Norwich did not yield the needed results. p. 112

111 The reference is apparently to the copper plate with the form of application for organisations wishing to join the International Working Men's Association (see pp. 297-98 of the present volume). p. 112

112 Fribourg's letter is not extant. But from Schily's letters to Marx and from the correspondence between Marx and Engels, it is evident that the members of the Paris section were pressing for a congress to be held in 1865, in Brussels. On July 7 they issued an appeal to the members of the International Association in which they submitted the following congress programme:

"1. What is the Association's object—what can be its means of action?
"2. Labour and its consequences on hygiene and morality; labour is the duty of all.
"3. Female and child labour at the factories from the viewpoint of hygiene and morality.
"4. Unemployment and the means of combating it.
"5. Strikes; their effect.
"6. Association, its principles and their application.
"7. Primary and vocational education.
"8. Relation between capital and labour.
"9. Foreign competition. Trade agreements.
"10. Standing armies from the viewpoint of production.
"11. Is morality distinct from religion?"

The appeal was published in *Presse*, July 7, *Opinion nationale*, July 15, 1865, and in several other French papers. p. 114

113 The reference is to the labour weekly, *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, organ of the British miners' union, published in London from 1863 to 1865. At the end of July 1865, J. B. Leno, a member of the General Council, acquired the copyright of the paper and became its editor. It was then that the paper offered its services as the International's official organ. It did not publish a report of the debate. p. 114

114 The Standing Committee's report on the questions of a congress and conference was the result of the energetic steps taken by Marx in the matter. In his letter to Engels of July 31, 1865, Marx

wrote: "According to our Rules a public congress should have been held in *Brussels* this year. The Parisians, the Swiss and some of the people here pressed for this in every way. I believe that in the present circumstances this would only compromise us, especially considering that I have not even got the time to prepare the necessary documents for the Central Council. In spite of strong resistance by the opposite side, I succeeded in getting them to agree to a private *prealable* [preliminary—*Ed.*] conference in London (September 25), instead of a public congress in Brussels, at which only delegates of the administrative committees will be present and which will make the *preparations* for the coming congress." p. 115

115 The programme of the London Conference was reproduced in two leaflets issued by the General Council (see the illustration between pp. 122 and 123, and pp. 305-06 of the present volume); it was also published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 200, August 12, 1865. p. 117

116 See Note 112. p. 118

117 See Note 68. p. 119

118 The reference is to the French labour paper *La Presse Ouvrière* which the editors of *La Tribune Ouvrière* (see Note 102) intended to publish after the latter had been suppressed. *La Presse Ouvrière* however appeared only once, in Brussels, on August 13, 1865, the entire issue being confiscated when they tried to smuggle it into France. p. 120

119 The minutes are not exact: it was apparently a matter of forming a shareholders' company not only for the purpose of purchasing premises for the Association but also for the purpose of financing *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* (see p. 124 of the present volume). p. 121

120 The report of this meeting in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 200, August 12, 1865, carries an excerpt from Talbot's letter asking for 50 membership cards of the International. p. 121

121 The reference is to a Geneva letter from Falconnet and Dupleix, under date August 19, 1865; in it they reported on the International's sections in Vevey, Montreux, Lausanne and La Chaux-de-Fonds, and on the preparations under way for the forthcoming London Conference. p. 124

122 Information about the conditions of the tulle operatives was requested in Schettel's letter to the General Council, dated August 19, 1865; the first application had been made in May of the same year (see p. 99 of the present volume). p. 124

[123] In pursuance of this decision Cremer drew up, on September 6, 1865, the following circular letter: "Dear Citizen, if you can by any means get information on, or answers to, the following questions, which our members in Lyons are deeply interested in having answered ... you will greatly oblige." The following questions were listed in the circular: "1. Whether the [workers] who are engaged in the manufacture of tulle are paid by the day or piece. 2. If by the day, what amount of wages per day, and how many hours constitute their day. 3. If by the piece, say whether per yard, if so, how many per yard. 4. The market price of the raw material. 5. Is there any export duty on British manufactured tulle, or import duty on French, if so, what amount of duty." The copy of the circular Cremer sent to Marx is extant. p. 124

[124] The reference is to the formation of a shareholders' company for the publication in London of a newspaper that would be the organ of the International Working Men's Association. At the end of July 1865, J. B. Leno, proprietor of *The Miner and Workman's Advocate* (see Note 113), proposed placing the paper at the service of the General Council. The proposal met with the full support of the Council members who discussed the matter on August 8 and 15. The details of the discussion at the meeting on August 15 are known to us from Eccarius's letter of August 16, 1865, to Marx who did not attend the Council meetings for three weeks being busy on his book *Capital*. In this letter Eccarius wrote:

"You evidently know that there have been certain changes on *The Miner*. The Editorial Board of *The Bee-Hive* offered Leno £25 for the copyright, but he turned down the offer. As things stand presently the paper is published at a weekly deficit of £5. Since there is a prospect of being able to increase the circulation at least to the amount needed to cover the absolute expenses, we have decided to establish a limited company with a capital of £1,000, divided into 1,000 shares, to purchase the copyright and to change or shorten the name, that is, to delete the word 'Miner'. Many yesterday evening also favoured changing the format. Leno will receive 50 shares as payment for the copyright, and he promised to take up another 50 as a shareholder. Another 55 shares were distributed yesterday evening. Friend Weston took up 5 shares, Wheeler, I believe, 10 and Lessner—2. In all, there will be a committee of 18 shareholders. Odger, Wheeler, Worley, Kaub and Eccarius will form a sub-committee which is to draw up the statutes and submit them to a shareholders' meet-

ing at Greek Street on Tuesday after 9 o'clock in the evening. Once the statutes are adopted a board of directors will be elected. All those who will have taken up shares by Tuesday will have the right to vote at the meeting. It was decided that on the same evening 2s. 6d. be deposited for every share. I hope that no unsurmountable obstacles will prevent you from attending in person."

On Tuesday, August 22, following the regular General Council meeting, the shareholders in the *Industrial Newspaper Company* held their foundation meeting. The meeting, which was attended by Marx, approved the text of an address to the working men and the Company's prospectus (see pp. 299-304 of the present volume). On September 25, 1865, the London Conference declared the paper, which on September 8 had been renamed *The Workman's Advocate*, an official organ of the International. In the first part of November 1865 the newspaper became the property of the Industrial Newspaper Company. p. 124

[125] The article "The Great Naval Review at Cherbourg" appeared in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 202, August 26, 1865, unsigned. p. 125

[126] After the exchange of letters between Marx and Fontaine in April 1865 (see Notes 74 and 78), the General Council was not in touch with Belgium for a while. In the summer of 1865 a group of Brussels workers, Proudhonists and collectivists (supporters of collective ownership of land), De Paepe among them, dissatisfied with Fontaine's inactivity, proceeded themselves to organise sections of the International in Belgium. On July 17 they called a meeting which elected a provisional committee of the Brussels section. On July 24 the newly-elected committee, which inclued Vandenhouten and other workers, held its first meeting. Fontaine demanded that the members of the section recognise him as the sole representative of the General Council and connecting link with it, on the grounds that the General Council had elected him its corresponding secretary, *pro tem.*, in Belgium. The members of the committee, however insisted on the right themselves to elect their representative. Marx, upon learning of these events from Limousin's letter to Dupont, dated July 1865, wrote Fontaine a letter on July 25, in which he made it clear to him that the General Council recognised the right of its sections to elect their own representatives and that it had appointed Fontaine in January 1865 only because there had been no section of the Association in Belgium at the time. Marx also informed Fontaine of the forthcoming

London Conference. It was Fontaine's reply of July 28, 1865 to Marx that was read at the meeting. p. 125

127 Fontaine had obviously not informed the Brussels section of Marx's letter of July 25, and it had considered it necessary to send to the General Council, to clear up matters, two of its representatives, Duthy and Cheval, who attended the Council meeting on September 5, 1865. In a letter read at a meeting of the Brussels section on September 16, Cheval recommended establishing direct contact with Marx. p. 127

128 On September 11, 1865, Marx sent a letter to Liebknecht in Hannover inviting him to attend the London Conference as a delegate from Germany. Liebknecht replied that he would not be able to come but would send a detailed report (see pp. 251-60 of the present volume). p. 129

129 The reference is to the soirée to celebrate the founding of the International, in St. Martin's Hall, London, on September 28, 1865 (see pp. 307-09 of the present volume). Jones had promised to attend, but was unable to do so. On September 28 he wrote Marx the following letter from Manchester: "My dear Marx, so much as I desire to attend the soirée tonight, I find it *utterly impossible*—it is *no matter of choice* with me, I assure you,—or you know I would have attended.

"I trust the soirée will be a great success—for the Union of all peoples for one object is, and ever will be, the only means of *attaining and securing* liberty for each.

Believe me,
My dear Marx,
Fraternally Yours,
Ernest Jones."
p. 129

130 In a letter to Jung, dated September 13, 1865, Létoquart, Secretary of the French section in Geneva, informed him of the election of Dupleix and J. Ph. Becker as delegates to the London Conference. Becker had also received the following mandate from Germany:

"The meeting held this morning of persons living in Solingen district, who are wholly dedicated to the cause of Social-Democracy and desiring to make the International Association as widely known as possible, hereby instructs *Mr. J. Ph. Becker in Geneva* to represent them at the conference of delegates that is being convened in London on the 25th of this month, and to inform the undersigned thereof. On behalf of the meeting, Karl Fr.

Dultgen. Gräfrath, Solingen district. September 24, 1865. *P.S.* It would be advisable to discuss the following questions: 1) What is the object of the International Working Men's Association and what can be its means? 2) Unemployment and the means of combating it. 3) Association, its principles and their application. 4) Standing armies from the viewpoint of production. Karl Fr. Dultgen." p. 129

[131] See Note 6. p. 129

[132] The minutes of the Standing Committee meeting are not extant. The London Conference opened on September 25, 1865 (see pp. 229-50 of the present volume). p. 130

[133] This decision was reversed by the General Council on November 21, 1865, on Marx's proposal (see p. 142 of the present volume). p. 131

[134] The reference is to the National League for the Independence of Poland (see Note 31). p. 134

[135] The reference is to an anonymous article that appeared in *Le Courrier International,* October 12, 1865, under the title "The International Working Men's Association". In this article its author criticised the London Conference resolution on the Polish question from Proudhonist positions and argued that the International Association should concern itself with questions of industrial associations and workers' credit and not with political issues. p. 137

[136] Notices of General Council meetings were published in *The Workman's Advocate* only beginning with January 6, 1866. The form was standard: "THE MEMBERS of the CENTRAL COUNCIL of the INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION are requested to attend a Meeting on Tuesday evening next, at Eight o'clock, at 18, Bouverie-street, Fleet-street, where the future meetings of the Council will take place." p. 137

[137] The French delegates' report on the London Conference of 1865 appeared in *Opinion nationale,* October 8, *Avenir national,* October 12, and in other French papers. p. 138

[138] On November 25, 1865, a notice, signed by P. Fox, appeared in *The Workman's Advocate,* No. 142, to the effect that although the anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1830 would not be observed anywhere officially, the Polish émigrés in London would meet in private on November 29, to keep alive the glorious memories of the heroic struggle. p. 139

[139] In accordance with a decision of the London Conference, the International Working Men's Association would hold its congress in May 1866 in Geneva (see pp. 242-43 of the present volume). p. 142

[140] The activities of the International Working Men's Association met with bitter opposition in Germany on the part of the Lassallean leaders to whom the ideas of proletarian internationalism were quite alien. Matters were further complicated by the Prussian law of 1850 on associations, and similar laws in other of the German states, which prohibited workers' organisations joining societies in other countries. Marx therefore proposed, early in 1865, individual membership which made it possible to circumvent the law of 1850. The International Association's members in Germany contacted the General Council directly or through the German section in Geneva. This is how contact was established with the workers in Mainz and Berlin. At the London Conference of 1865 J. Ph. Becker officially represented the International's section in Solingen. Marx's communication to the General Council meeting about the headway being made by the Association in Germany was based on Liebknecht's letter to him, dated November 16, and on the letter from Metzner, S. Meyer and A. Vogt of November 13, 1865. p. 143

[141] The proclamation to the workers of Switzerland to join the International was issued by the German section in Geneva in November 1865. Excerpts from the proclamation were published in English in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 145, December 16, 1865. p. 145

[142] The reference is to the following two journals: *Journal de l'Association des Travailleurs*—the monthly organ of the International's sections in Romance Switzerland, published in French in Geneva from December 1865 to September 1866, and *Der Vorbote*—the monthly organ of the German sections, published in Geneva from January 1866 to December 1871 and edited by J. Ph. Becker. *Der Vorbote* generally propagated the platform of Marx and the General Council, published the documents of the International and information about the activites of the International's sections in various countries. p. 145

[143] The reference is to the benefit and co-operative society founded in Geneva on November 7, 1865. It came directly under the Central Committee of the German sections in Switzerland. The rules of

this society in Becker's handwriting and signed by him are extant. p. 147

144 The final text of the appeal of the British members of the General Council to the working men of the United Kingdom in connection with the Geneva Congress was written by Cremer and approved by the General Council on January 16, 1866. The appeal was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 152, February 3, 1866; it was also put out as a leaflet between March 27 and April 3, 1866 (see pp. 313-16 of the present volume). p. 148

145 The reference is to the French branch in London, formed in the autumn of 1865. Besides representatives of the proletarian element (Dupont, Jung and Lafargue), it included petty-bourgeois émigrés (Le Lubez and, later, Pyat). After the General Council adopted, on July 7, 1868, a resolution proposed by Marx, condemning the provocative actions of Pyat, the branch split, the representatives of the proletarian element withdrawing from it. p. 148

146 On December 16 and 18, 1865, an anonymous article appeared in the Belgian bourgeois-democratic newspaper *L'Echo de Verviers*, Nos. 293 and 294, which gave a distorted picture of the General Council's activities and of the London Conference of 1865. Its author was Pierre Vésinier, French publicist and republican and mouthpiece of the petty-bourgeois element in the French branch in London, who were in opposition to Marx and the General Council. In the fight against Vésinier and Le Lubez, Dupont, Corresponding Secretary for France, had the support of the representatives of the proletarian element in the branch (Longuet and Crespelle). Jung, on behalf of the General Council, wrote a letter to the editor of *L'Echo de Verviers*, in reply to Vésinier's slanderous attacks. The letter was edited by Marx (see pp. 317-26 of the present volume). p. 150

147 In the late fifties of the nineteenth century a secret Fenian organisation, known as the Irish Revolutionary (or Republican) Brother-hood, was founded among the Irish immigrants in America and later extended to Ireland, to fight for the independence of Ireland. The Fenians who objectively voiced the interests of the Irish peasantry came mainly from the urban petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia. Because of their conspiracy tactics and their sectarian and bourgeois-nationalistic outlook the Fenians were out of touch with the mass of the Irish people and did not link up their movement with the general democratic movement that was developing in England. Marx and Engels more than

once pointed to the weaknesses of the Fenian movement; still they highly appreciated its revolutionary character and sought to guide it along the path of mass struggle and joint action with the English working class. In 1865 the Fenians made plans for an armed uprising but in September of the same year the British Government succeeded in arresting the leaders of the movement (Luby, Murphy and O'Donovan Rossa); the Fenian newspapers were suppressed and the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The General Council supported the campaign started in England in defence of the convicted Fenians (see pp. 327-34 of the present volume). p. 151

148 *The Irishman*—a bourgeois-nationalistic weekly, published from 1858 to 1885, at first in Belfast and then in Dublin. The paper supported the Fenians. p. 151

149 The appeal was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 148, January 6, 1866. p. 151

150 The reference is to the first issue of the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* (see Note 142). p. 152

151 On December 27, 1865, *L'Echo de Verviers* published the draft of new rules which their authors proposed to submit to the Geneva Congress in 1866 and eventually get the International to accept. This draft, which reflected the federalist views of some of the petty-bourgeois democrats in the French branch in London, turned the General Council from a leading body into merely an auxiliary body of statistical inquiry and information. p. 152

152 The Inaugural Address and Rules of the International Working Men's Association were not reprinted in *The Workman's Advocate*. p. 154

153 See Note 144. p. 154

154 The appeal recast by Fox as an editorial was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 152, February 3, 1866. p. 154

155 The reference is to the Belgian democratic paper *La Tribune du Peuple* which appeared in Brussels from May 1861 to April 1869. The paper was founded by a group of workers and representatives of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, adherents of utopian socialism and members of the atheist society The People. It, in effect, became the International's organ in Belgium in August 1865, but officially so in January 1866, as the editorial in *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 1, January 7, 1866, informed its readers.

De Paepe, Lafargue and other Association members collaborated with the paper. p. 155

[156] See Note 146. p. 155

[157] The General Council's official decision to celebrate the anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1863 was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 149, January 13, 1866. p. 156

[158] Fox wrote three articles on the Irish question which were published in the October 1865 issues of *The Workman's Advocate:* "The British Coup d'Etat in Ireland" (No. 136), "The Influence of Irish National Feeling Upon the Relations Between Great Britain and the United States" (No. 137), "The Irish Difficulty, Continued" (No. 138). The paper also regularly carried information about the Fenian movement. On January 6, 1866, in pursuance of a General Council decision, *The Workman's Advocate* reprinted the appeal to the women of Ireland to collect funds for the imprisoned Fenians (see p. 151 of the present volume). p. 159

[159] The meeting to celebrate the third anniversary of the Polish Insurrection of 1863 was held on January 22, 1866 in St. Martin's Hall, London, under the chairmanship of the noted Polish democrat Oborski, an émigré in London. *Głos Wolny*, organ of the democratic wing of the Polish emigration, wrote in this connection that the meeting had been held on the initiative of the International Working Men's Association and the Polish émigrés in London. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution, proposed by Fox and seconded by Marx, expressing sympathy with Poland's liberation struggle.

A report of the meeting was published in *Głos Wolny*, No. 93, January 31, *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 225, February 3, and in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 151, January 27, 1866. p. 160

[160] In this letter, dated January 18, 1866, Liebknecht wrote Marx that the Leipzig Workers' Educational Society was going to form a branch of the International. He also wrote that Hofstetten, editor of *Der Social-Demokrat*, had again tried to get Marx, Engels and Liebknecht to collaborate with the paper. From Marx's letter to Engels, dated February 10, 1866, it is evident that Marx strongly objected to the attempts of the Lassalleans to use his and Engels's name, and sharply criticised Liebknecht for his conciliatory attitude. p. 161

[161] The reference is to De Paepe's letter to Marx, dated January 14, 1866. Regarding *La Tribune du Peuple* and the society The People see Note 155. p. 161

[162] The reference is to *La Voix de l'Avenir*, a Swiss weekly published in La Chaux-de-Fonds from 1865 to 1868; in 1867 the paper became the official organ of the Association's Romance sections in Switzerland; it published the documents of the General Council and of the local sections; was under the influence of the Proudhonists. p. 161

[163] The data cited by Jung were published in *La Voix de l'Avenir*, No. 1, December 31, 1865 and in *Vorbote*, No. 1, January 1866. p. 161

[164] The reference is to the reply drawn up by Jung, on behalf of the General Council, to Vésinier's slanderous article in *L'Echo de Verviers* (see pp. 317-26 of the present volume). p. 163

[165] The bill introduced in Parliament by Lord St. Leonards provided for the establishment of standing arbitration-boards, in place of the sporadic arbitration-courts, for the settlement of insurance and wages disputes between employers and employees. On February 5, 1866, Jung wrote to Marx: "On Tuesday a deputation was appointed, composed of Dupont and myself, to attend the Trades Council next Wednesday in order to supply them with every information in our power, concerning arbitration-courts, conseil de Prud'hommes. Dupont wrote to Paris and received the conseil de Prud'hommes statutes and the relevant laws; I am now making a study of them so as not to be taken in. Dupont is thoroughly conversant with this question and I think we'll make out pretty well." Jung asked Marx to send him all the available information on the subject. p. 163

[166] The Provisional Rules of the International were published in the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, No. 1, December 17, 1865, the Inaugural Address—in No. 2, January 28, 1866, which issue also carried a report about the headway being made by the Association's section in Lausanne. In the General Council minutes this information is erroneously ascribed to the Geneva section. p. 164

[167] The report of the congress of Spanish co-operative societies, held in Barcelona in December 1865, was published in *L'Association*, No. 19, February 4, 1866. p. 164

[168] *El Obrero*, a Spanish labour weekly, appeared in Barcelona from 1864 to 1869 when its publication was transferred to Palma (Majorca). In 1870 the paper became the official organ of the International Association in Spain. *El Obrero* was suppressed by the government in January 1871. p. 164

[169] The reference is to the Reform League conference arranged for February 28-March 1, 1866, in St. Martin's Hall, London (see Note 182). During the preparations for the conference some British trade-union leaders showed a tendency to go back on the initial demand for manhood suffrage. Cremer, for instance, at a meeting of the Reform League on February 13, said that he considered working men would be quite satisfied with extension of household suffrage. p. 165

[170] On February 7, 1866, the London Trades Council called a trade-union delegates' meeting in the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, to discuss the arbitration-board Bill (see Note 165). Dupont and Jung reported, on behalf of the General Council, on the conseil de Prud'hommes in France. The meeting, which was adjourned till February 21, 1866, was attended besides Dupont and Jung by two other General Council members—Coulson and Howell. p. 166

[171] The reference is to the open letter written by John Hennessy, Irish political figure, on February 2, 1866 and published in the London *Pall Mall Gazette*, February 3; the letter was also reprinted in full by the General Council in *The Commonwealth*, No. 157, March 10, 1866 (see pp. 327-32 of the present volume). p. 166

[172] The reference is to an article on the solitary confinement of the Fenians printed in the medical journal *Lancet*, February 10, 1866. p. 166

[173] The reference is to Fox's article "The Irish Question" published in *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 153 and 154, of February 10 and 17, 1866, respectively. p. 167

[174] The reference is to a letter written by Limousin, Tolain, Varlin and Fribourg on February 10, 1866, to the editor of *L'Espiègle* in reply to Vésinier's slanderous article which the paper had published on October 29, 1865. In this article Vésinier had again accused the members of the Paris Administration of Bonapartism. As is evident from Vésinier's letter of March 15, 1866, the editor of *L'Espiègle* refused to publish the letter of Limousin, Tolain, Varlin and Fribourg alleging that it was rude in tone. p. 168

[175] In 1861 joint intervention by Anglo-Franco-Spanish troops began in Mexico, directed against the country's progressive republican government. In 1863 the French interventionists, who sought to establish a colonial regime in Mexico, seized its biggest towns

and set up a puppet Mexican empire at the head of which Napoleon III placed his tool, Maximilian, the Archduke of Austria.

On February 10, 1866, Marshall Forey delivered a speech in the French Senate in which he alleged that the men and officers of the Mexican republican army under the command of Mexico's President Juáres had committed excesses. In reply to this General Paz of the Mexican republican army sent a letter to Forey on February 20, calling him to account for his libellous statement. He also sent an open letter to the press on February 26 refuting Forey's insinuations and explaining the objects and tasks of the liberation struggle of the Mexican people. Paz's letter was published in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 9, March 4, and in *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 11, March 18, 1866. p. 168

[176] Beginning with February 10, 1866, *The Workman's Advocate* (see Note 124) appeared under the name *The Commonwealth*. This change of name, which followed a reorganisation of the editorial staff, reflected a certain strengthening of the position of the bourgeois-radical element on the Board of the Industrial Newspaper Company. Marx was able nevertheless to get Eccarius appointed editor, and the paper, as the official organ of the International Association, continued to publish the reports of the General Council meetings and other documents of the International. The opportunist trade-union leaders, however, contrived to paralyse the influence of Marx's supporters, and in April 1866 appointed Odger editor-in-chief. Marx resigned from the Board of Directors on June 9, 1866. On September 8, 1866 (No. 183), *The Commonwealth* became the organ of the reform movement and as such was virtually under the influence of the radical bourgeoisie. The paper discontinued publication on July 20, 1867.

Paz's letter was not published in *The Commonwealth*. p. 168

[177] The statement, drawn up by Fox and signed by Odger, was published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 157, March 10, 1866 (see pp. 327-34 of the present volume). p. 169

[178] Paul Lafargue when still a medical student in Paris was expelled from the University at the end of 1865 along with a group of other students for political actions against the Second Empire (collaboration with *La Rive Gauche*, participation in the students' congress at Liége, etc.). p. 169

[179] See Note 146. p. 169

[180] Le Lubez and Wolff, taking advantage of Marx's absence at this General Council meeting, hastened to get the resolution passed,

By upholding Mazzini they tried to discredit the proletarian policy pursued by Marx in the General Council; Wolff was supported by Odger, Howell, Cremer and several other British members of the Council. Only a few corresponding secretaries for the European countries had been present at the said meeting and, as Marx wrote to Engels on March 24, 1866, not a single one of them had voted for the resolution. On March 10 the corresponding secretaries Dupont, Jung, Longuet, Bobczynski and also Lafargue met in conference with Marx. It was decided that at the next General Council meeting, on March 13, Marx would, in their name, protest the resolution and rebuff the attempts of Mazzini and his followers to distort the proletarian character of the International and to bring it under bourgeois influence. As a result of the stand taken by Marx and his supporters in the General Council the Le Lubez-Wolff resolution was withdrawn at the meeting of March 13 (see pp. 170-72 and 174 of the present volume. p. 170.

[181] The reference is to the appeal of the British members of the General Council in connection with the Geneva Congress (see pp. 313-16 of the present volume). p. 170

[182] The Reform Conference, sponsored by the Reform League, was held on February 28-March 1, 1866, in St. Martin's Hall, London, under the chairmanship of Beales. The General Council had sent a delegation composed of Fox, Carter, Jung, Williams, Shaw and Lessner. Other Council members (Cremer, Eccarius, Odger, Dell, Leno, Longmaid and Hartwell) had attended as the representatives of various organisations. The conference had declared for manhood suffrage. A report of the conference proceedings was published in *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 156 and 157, March 3 and 10, respectively, and in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 229, March 3, 1866. p. 170

[183] Jung made his report on the basis of Dupleix's letter of March 7, 1866, in which he informed Jung of the appointment of the Geneva section's new secretary, Rochat, and the increase in the Lausanne section's membership up to 250. p. 171

[184] This information was published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 3, March 1866. p. 174

[185] In March 1866 the London tailors put forward a demand for a wage increase. Most of the employers had been prepared to come to terms, except for a Mr. Poole of Saville Row. A meeting in support of the tailors was thereupon held on March 26, in Cambridge Hall, attended by 1,200 people. Poole retaliated by declaring a lock-out; Morgan, Stultz and several other employers

followed suit; 15,000 tailors were under the threat of a lock-out. On March 27 the London tailors went on strike. The Executive Committee of the Journeymen Tailors' Protective Association, formed at the national conference of British tailors held in Manchester on March 12-17, 1866, appealed to the tailors of Britain to support the strike.

The General Council's warning to the journeymen tailors was printed in the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, No. 5, April 8, in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 15, April 15, and in several other papers. The General Council's support of the strike played a decisive role in the victory won by the London tailors in April 1866, and added to the popularity and prestige of the International Working Men's Association in the British working class. On April 17 the Tailors' Protective Association joined the International (see p. 179 of the present volume). p. 174

186 The plan which the Lausanne section of the International submitted to the General Council for raising money to build co-operative houses in Lausanne was published in *La Voix de l'Avenir*, No. 13, April 1, and reprinted in the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, No. 5, April 8, 1866. The plan was not discussed at the Geneva Congress. p. 176

187 The reference is to the preparations for the Geneva Congress of the International Working Men's Association in Switzerland; the communication was published in the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, No. 5, April 8, 1866. p. 178

188 Shaw had acted as the Council's General Secretary, *pro tem.*, from March 20 to April 24, 1866. p. 180

189 On April 23, 1866, the London wire-workers went on strike, demanding a 10 per cent wage increase. The same day the strike committee sent out letters to the wire-workers of England, Scotland and Ireland urging them to refuse to be recruited for work in London during the strike. With the help of the General Council similar letters were sent to France and Germany. p. 181

190 The eleventh congress of the Italian working men's associations, held in Naples on October 25-27, 1864, had instructed the associations' Central Council to ensure the organisation's representation at the international working men's congress. It was in pursuance of this decision that the Central Council sent Gaspare Stampa, one of its members, to the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866. The congress of Italian working men's associations, mentioned by Dupleix and Becker in their letter of

April 21, 1866, did not take place as planned in the summer of 1866. p. 181

[191] The Address and Rules were reprinted in London in August 1866 under the heading: "Address and Provisional Rules of the International Working Men's Association" Printed by the Westminster Printing Company, 56 and 132, Drury Lane. p. 182

[192] On April 29, 1866 *La Tribune du Peuple*, No. 17, carried the following appeal: "The London wire-workers have gone on strike. We would remind you of what we said at the time about the tailors' strike, viz., that the Continental workers should not agree to go to work in London because when their English fellow-workers returned to their former jobs the Continental workers would find themselves on the street and without any means.

"The tailors' strike ended to the supreme satisfaction of the tailors and to the great dissatisfaction of the employers, and it ended that way precisely because the International Working Men's Association had printed a warning in many papers (and incidentally in *Le Siècle* as well) which prevented the employers from hiring foreign workers as they had planned to. Many English papers commented, some with pleasure, others with chagrin, on the splendid results achieved thanks to the initiative of the International Working Men's Association." A similar appeal was printed in the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, No. 6, May 13, 1866. p. 182

[193] The reference is to the pamphlet *Congrès Ouvrier*, which the International's Paris section put out early in 1866. It contained the French translation of the Provisional Rules (see Note 36), the appeal of the Paris section to the members of the International Association, issued in the summer of 1865 (see Note 112), the French delegation's report of the London Conference of 1865, the programme of the Geneva Congress of 1866, endorsed by the London Conference, and other material. p. 183

[194] As Jung's letter of May 2, 1866 to Becker indicates, Marx too seconded the proposal to postpone the congress to September 3 considering that this delay would allow for making better arrangements for the congress. p. 184

[195] On March 26, 1866, 1,000 tailors went on strike in Edinburgh. The employers tried to replace them with tailors from Germany, 57 of whom were brought over in April. With a view to preventing the further import of foreign workers and to supporting the strikers, the German tailors living in London formed a committee

of which Lessner was appointed president and Haufe—secretary. On May 4, 1866 this committee issued the following appeal to the German tailors:

"Fellow-Workers! The employers have succeeded in bringing in tailors from Germany to Edinburgh, to supplant those who are demanding higher wages and a shorter working day. Upon setting foot on English soil these men signed a contract to work for a specified period of time; violation of this contract holds the threat of imprisonment. In order to show our comrades at home why the employers in Britain want to use German workers, and in order to make impossible this modern trafficking in human beings, a committee has been formed which has as its object to frustrate the plans of the employers. The committee needs support if it is to be a success. We therefore call on all our compatriots to give us their every support. It is in our own interests as working men resolutely to check-mate the employers' plans and to prove to our British comrades that we travel to other countries not for the purpose of obligingly helping to lower wages. As soon as means permit we will call a joint public meeting to discuss the measures necessary for achieving our object. The committee meets every Tuesday at 8 o'clock in the evening at the Crown Public House, Hedden Court, Regent Street, to receive voluntary contributions. On behalf of the Committee: F. Lessner —President, A. Haufe—Secretary. London, May 4, 1866." p. 186

196 On May 3, 1866, Marx received the requested material from the German Tailors' Committee in London and on May 4 wrote, on behalf of the General Council, the item "A Warning" which he mailed to Liebknecht the same day. The item was published in several German papers, among them the *Oberrheinischer Courier*, *Mitteldeutsche Volkszeitung* and the *Deutsches Wochenblatt* (see pp. 335-36 of the present volume). p. 186

197 Canessa was one of the leaders of the Federation of Working Men's Co-operative Associations of Genoa and the editor (1865-66) of *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane*, organ of the Italian working men's associations, which began publication in Genoa in January 1864. He got in touch with the General Council through J. Ph. Becker. On April 29, 1866 he wrote to Jung that he was prepared to form a section of the International in Genoa. The General Council intended to avail itself of the journal to publish the Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules in Italian. On May 26, 1866, Canessa however informed the Council that he was joining Garibaldi in his Venice expedition and that therefore he would not be corresponding with the Council for a while. p. 189

[198] This information was published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 4, April 1866. p. 189

[199] Gaspare Stampa's letter was published in *Der Vorbote*, No. 4, April 1866. In the paper the letter was dated March 30, 1866. p. 189

[200] The reference is to the eleventh congress of the Italian working men's associations held in Naples in October 1864. p. 190

[201] Fox has in mind Engels's third article, "The Doctrine of Nationalities in Relation to Poland", in his series of articles "What Have the Working Class to Do with Poland?", which were published in *The Commonwealth*, Nos. 159, 160 and 165, of March 24, 31 and May 5, 1866, respectively. Engels wrote these articles in January-April 1866, on Marx's request, in connection with the dispute that arose in the General Council following the London Conference's (1865) decision to include the question of Poland's independence in the agenda of the forthcoming Geneva Congress. To substantiate the International's policy on the national question it was necessary, on the one hand, to show the fallacy of the Proudhonists' nihilist views on the national question and, on the other, to expose the reactionary essence of the so-called "principle of nationalities" demagogically expounded by Bonapartist circles. p. 190

[202] The reference is to "A Warning" ("Warnung") written by Marx (see pp. 335-36 of the present volume). p. 192

[203] *Der Vorbote*, No. 5, May 1866. p. 193

[204] Reports about the strike of the Geneva bootmakers were published in *La Voix de l'Avenir*, No. 21, May 27, and in the *Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs*, No. 7, June 10, 1866. p. 193

[205] *The Commonwealth* report of this General Council meeting (No. 168, May 26, 1866) gives Dell's communication in greater detail:

"The Financial Secretary of the International Working Men's Association hereby acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, contributed to defray the expenses of the forthcoming Congress of Working Men at Geneva:

	£	s.	d.
"Eight Dewsbury Shoemakers, per William Tinkler	0	7	0
"Operative Bricklayers' Society (Wolverhampton Lodge), per F. W. Jones	0	4	9

	£	s.	d.
"Men's Section of Amalgamated Cordwainers, Birmingham, per Thomas Hallam	0	5	0
"West End Ladies' Shoemakers' Society, per Mr. Wallace	1	0	0
"Tunbridge-Wells Section of the Amalgamated Cordwainers, per Peter Knight	0	8	0
"Cheltenham Section of Amalgamated Cordwainers, per John Saunders	0	2	6."

p. 194

[206] Weekly reports of the General Council's meetings began to be published in *The Commonwealth* from April 17, 1866 onwards. p. 194

[207] Haufe and Hansen had been sent to Edinburgh by the General Council. In a letter, dated May 10, 1866, Marx wrote Engels as follows about the results of the steps taken by the Council in connection with the Edinburgh tailors' strike: "In view of the importation of German and Danish tailors to Edinburgh we, firstly, sent a German and a Dane (both of them are tailors) to Edinburgh; they have already upset the harmony between the importers and imported; secondly, I published, on behalf of the International Association, 'A Warning' to the German tailors in Germany. This whole affair has greatly benefited us in London." p. 194

[208] The reference is to the American *Ironmoulders' International Journal*, organ of the iron and steel workers, published in Philadelphia. p. 196

[209] *La Gironde*—French republican paper, published in Bordeaux in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. p. 196

[210] *Le Courrier Français*—newspaper of the Left republicans; published in Paris from 1861 to 1868, at first as a weekly and from June 1867 onwards as a daily. Vermorel, a Proudhonist, was editor from 1866 on. On May 20 of the same year *Le Courrier Français* became the International's organ in France. As such it published the documents of the General Council and of the local sections and Dupont's reports from England. It also published Marx's preface to the first German edition of his *Capital*, Vol. I, translated by Paul and Laura Lafargue. In its issue of May 20, No. 15, it carried the appeal of the Paris students to the students of Germany and Italy in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria. p. 196

211 A translation of the Inaugural Address and an article by Lafargue, "A Summary of the Development of the International Working Men's Association", were sent to *La Rive Gauche* which it published on June 17, 1866, No. 24. p. 196

212 The reference is to *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane*, organ of the working men's associations of Italy (see Note 197). p. 197

213 The appeal to the students of Germany and Italy (see Note 210) strongly reflected Proudhonist ideas. In his letter to Engels of June 7, 1866, Marx wrote: "The Proudhonist clique among the students in Paris (*Courrier Français*) preaches peace, declares war to be obsolete and nationalities to be an absurdity, attacks Bismarck and Garibaldi, etc. As polemics against chauvinism their doings are useful and explicable. But as believers in Proudhon (Lafargue and Longuet, two very good friends of mine here, also belong to them), who think all Europe must and will sit quietly on their hindquarters until the gentlemen in France abolish 'poverty and ignorance', under the latter of which they themselves labour in direct proportion to their vociferations about 'social science', they are grotesque...." p. 198

214 The appeal of the working men of all countries to the students of Paris and the students and young people of all countries (see pp. 337-39 of the present volume), was published in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 23, June 10, and in *Le Courrier Français*, June 10 and 17, 1866. Marx was not present at this General Council meeting, and, as is evident from his letter to Engels of June 20, 1866, he was dissatisfied with the appeal. p. 199

215 The reference is to the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom held in Sheffield on July 17-21, 1866 (see Note 245). p. 200

216 The reference is to Lafargue's article "A Summary of the Development of the International Working Men's Association", which he had written specially for *La Rive Gauche*. p. 200

217 The letter was from Liebknecht, under date of May 25, 1866. Liebknecht asked for membership cards and wrote that "the leaders of the working men's associations here have expressed a desire to become members". p. 200

218 The nature of Marx's speech at this meeting and of the discussion on the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 may be gathered from his letter to Engels of June 20, 1866. In it Marx wrote: "Yesterday there was a discussion in the International Council on the

present war. The question had been announced beforehand and our room was very crowded. The Italian gentry too had sent delegates. The discussion wound up, as was to be foreseen, with the 'question of nationality' in general and the attitude we take towards it. This subject was adjourned till next Tuesday.

"The French, who were numerously represented, gave vent to their cordial dislike of the Italians.

"Moreover, the representatives of 'Young France' (*non-workers*) came out with the announcement that all nationalities and even nations were 'antiquated prejudices'. Proudhonised Stirnerism. Everything is to be dissolved into small 'groups' or 'communes', which in turn are to form an 'association', but no state. And this 'individualisation' of humanity and the corresponding 'mutualism' are to go on while history comes to a stop in all other countries and the whole world waits until the French are ripe for a social revolution. Then they will demonstrate the experiment to us, and the rest of the world, overwhelmed by the force of their example, will follow suit. Exactly what Fourier expected of his model phalanstery. Anyhow, whoever encumbers the 'social' question with the 'superstitions' of the old world is a 'reactionary'.

"The English laughed very much when I began my speech by saying that our friend Lafargue and others, who had done away with nationalities, had spoken *'French'* to us, i.e., a language which nine-tenths of the audience did not understand. I also suggested that by the negation of nationalities he appeared, quite unconsciously, to understand their absorption by the model French nation.

"As for the rest the situation is difficult now, because on the one hand silly English Italianism and on the other the erroneous French polemics against it must be equally combated. In particular every demonstration that would involve our Association in a one-sided course must be prevented." p. 201

[219] The English translation of the appeal "To the Working Men of All Countries!—The Youth of France", issued in reply to the appeal of the working men of all countries to the students of Paris and the students and youth of all countries (see pp. 337-39 of the present volume), was printed in *The Commonwealth*, No. 172, June 23, 1866. p. 202

[220] The letter was published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 172, June 23, and in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 26, July 1, 1866. p. 203

[221] *Le Courrier Français* of June 10 and 17, 1866 was seized for publishing the appeal of the working men of all countries to the

students of Paris and the appeal, written in reply, of the youth of France to the working men of all countries. p. 203

[222] The reference is to Lafargue's article "A Victory of the Plebeians" published in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 22, June 3, 1866. The article was devoted to the victory of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners over the employers. The article began as follows: "At a time when the bourgeois press is filling its columns with diplomatic notes and stories about the exploits of Bismarck, Mazzini, Garibaldi and other heroes, about great men, some better others worse, we socialists and revolutionaries should be writing about the slow but powerful movement that is taking place under this bright and sparkling, but empty shell." p. 204

[223] In his letter to J. Ph. Becker, dated July 4, 1866, Jung gives a more detailed account of his speech. He believed that the General Council should, considering the international situation at the time, intensify its activities, especially in London, to enlist the support of various workers' societies. This would enable it in the event of a revolution in Germany, or in any other country, to bring pressure to bear upon the British Government through mass meetings, and prevent it from siding with the counter-revolutionary governments, thereby helping the revolution on the Continent. Jung's speech met with objections on the part of the British members of the Council who held that the question of revolution had no relation to the questions under discussion. In his letter to Becker, Jung wrote that Marx had supported his viewpoint but wrote nothing further about Marx's speech. p. 204.

[224] The resolutions on the Austro-Prussian War, submitted to the said meeting, were voted on by the General Council at its meeting of July 17, 1866, at which Marx spoke. Following Marx's speech, the resolution submitted by Cremer and Dutton, which, although correct in its condemnation of wars of conquest, made no mention of the proletariat's paramount task—to organise the fight for their political and social emancipation—and Fox's resolution which suffered from the same shortcoming and, moreover, did not reflect the proletariat's attitude towards war, were withdrawn. The General Council unanimously adopted the Bobczynski-Carter resolution, after certain amendments had been introduced (see pp. 212-13 of the present volume). p. 206

[225] At the General Council meeting of June 5, 1866 it was reported that the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Association had affiliated to the International and that the Council's deputation had been well

received by the Operative Bricklayers in Commercial Road. The proposal to nominate their representatives, Yarrow and Ayers, to the Council was not recorded in the minutes of June 5 (see pp. 197-99 of the present volume). p. 206

[226] The reference is to Lafargue's article "The War Has Saved the Empire" that appeared in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 26, July 1, 1866. In this article Lafargue wrote that the wave of chauvinism that swept over France during the war of 1866 had saved the government from imminent revolution. p. 207

[227] The branch of the International at Fleurieux (near Neuville-sur-Saône) was organised by Louis Baudrand. He was appointed the Association's correspondent at this Council meeting (see Note 234). p. 208

[228] Emile Aubry organised the International's section at Rouen. p. 208

[229] Carter, Odger, Eccarius and Jung represented the General Council at the Geneva Congress in 1866. Three other Council members, Dupont, Lawrence and Cremer, attended the Congress as delegates from the French branch in London, the London Tailors' Society and the London Society of Carpenters, respectively. p. 209

[230] In the spring of 1866 the bourgeois-radical element on *The Commonwealth* strengthened their influence on the Editorial Board by utilising the paper's financial difficulties. In view of this Marx withdrew from the Board of Directors of the Industrial Newspaper Company on June 9 (see Notes 124 and 176). Fox left the Editorial Board the following month. From July 1866 onwards *The Commonwealth* ceased, in effect, to be the organ of the International Association. p. 209

[231] Lawrence represented the London tailors at the British trades union conference held in Sheffield (see Note 245). p. 209

[232] Charles Longuet was arrested in Bagnères-de-Bigorre on July 18, 1866. p. 210

[233] Vésinier was arrested by the Belgian police on July 7, 1866, as the author of several pamphlets against Napoleon III and prosecuted for *lèse majesté* with reference to the monarch of a foreign country. p. 210

[234] The communication about the founding of a section of the International in Neuville-sur-Saône had been read by Jung at the General Council meeting of July 10, 1866 (see p. 208 of the present volume). Due to an oversight, the communication ap-

peared, in greater detail, in the report of the General Council meeting of July 17, published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 176, July 21, 1866. A clipping from this issue is pasted into the Minute Book on the page carrying the minutes of July 17. p. 211

[235] Fribourg's letter was published in *Le Courrier Français*, No. 28, July 15, 1866, under the heading: "The International Working Men's Association". Fribourg wrote that the working people who were opposed to the war of 1866 realised that their prime concern was to solve the social problem, and that they were devoting all their attention and efforts to preparing for the Geneva Congress. p. 212

[236] The resolution was published in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 29, July 22, 1866. p. 213

[237] On July 16, 1866 the Committee of the Romance section in Geneva met to discuss questions on the organisation of the Congress. Dupleix and Rochat, the secretary of the section, informed Jung of the Committee's decisions on July 18, 1866. p. 214

[238] In a letter to Dupleix, dated August 14, 1866, Jung asked him to urge the Italian societies to send their delegates to the Geneva Congress. p. 215

[239] On September 8, 1866, the Geneva Congress resolved that London should remain the seat of the General Council in 1866-67. p. 215

[240] The report of the General Council meeting, published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 180, August 18, 1866, gives the following sums contributed to defray the expenses of the Geneva Congress:

"Cordwainers' Amalgamated Council	£5 0 0
"Carpenters and Joiners, Silver Cup	1 0 0
"Deputation attending ditto	0 4 0
"Coopers Hand-in-Hand, per Messrs. Reynolds and Long	6 0 0
"Bricklayers, per Mr. Ayers	0 8 1."

p. 216

[241] The Transatlantic telegraph cable laid between Newfoundland and Ireland in 1866, was put into operation in June 1866. p. 217

[242] The reference is to the Congress programme, published in *Le Courrier Français*, June 24, and in *La Rive Gauche*, No. 27, July 8, 1866. Point 12 of the programme read: "Formation of mutual aid societies, material and moral support for the orphans of Association members". The Swiss sections were instructed to

elaborate the question. Marx, when drawing up "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" to the Geneva Congress, included this point, in pursuance of the said General Council decision, in Point 1 of the "Instructions"—"Organisation of the International Association" (see pp. 340-41 of the present volume). At its evening sitting of September 8, 1866, the Geneva Congress adopted a resolution on the question which recognised the desirability of establishing insurance and mutual aid societies but considered it still too early to pass any general resolutions on the matter. p. 217

243 The scheme of inquiry was drawn up by Marx and included by him in Point 2 of the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council" (see p. 342 of the present volume). At the Geneva Congress Dupont reported on the scheme of inquiry. p. 218

244 Sely did not attend the Geneva Congress. p. 219

245 The reference is to the British trades union conference held in Sheffield from July 17 to 21, 1866. The conference was attended by 138 delegates representing 200,000 organised workers. Odger and Lawrence represented the International Association. The chief question discussed at several sittings was how to fight the lock-outs. The conference called on the trade unions to join the International, and adopted the following resolution on this question:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community." (See "Report of the Conference of Trades' Delegates of the United Kingdom held in ... Sheffield, on July 17th, 1866, and Four Following Days", ... Sheffield, 1866, p. 72.) p. 220

246 The reference is to the "Memorandum of the Geneva German Branch of the International Working Men's Association", which was discussed in September 1865 at meetings of the Committee and at a general meeting of the branch, and submitted to the London Conference. The "Memorandum" was printed in *Der Vorbote*, Nos. 2-8, February-August 1866. p. 220

247 Coulson, Secretary of the London branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society, had been appointed to the General Council's

Auditing Committee on April 17, 1866, together with Fox and Le Lubez (see p. 180 of the present volume). p. 222

[248] The proposal that the work of the General Secretary should be paid was included by Marx in Point I of the "Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council. The Different Questions" (see p. 340 of the present volume). p. 225

[249] General Council member, Lawrence (a tailor by trade) represented the Tailors' Society at the Geneva Congress. p. 225

[250] The question of the clash between the English and Belgian excavators was discussed at length by the General Council at its meeting of August 28, 1866 (see Note 254). p. 226

[251] At the beginning of August 1866 the tailors of Manchester put forward the demand to regulate working time and several other economic demands. The employers replied by declaring a lock-out at 40 workshops; 700 tailors were left without work. The Manchester Journeymen Tailors' Society printed an appeal in *The Commonwealth*, No. 182, September 1, 1866, addressed to the journeymen tailors of the United Kingdom in which they wrote: "The men of Manchester, to the number of seven hundred, have been thrown out of employment through asking for remuneration for time and trouble in preparing work for machines. They have sought to make machinery, as it should be, a help to both master and men, instead of a means of speedy fortune to one and long and lingering starvation to the others." p. 226

[252] The question of international postal rates was again discussed by the General Council in 1867 at its meeting of July 16. A report, drawn up by Fox, was sent to the British Postmaster-General who informed the Council in a letter dated August 24, 1867, that he would look into the matter. p. 227

[253] The question of curtailment of the working day was discussed at the Geneva Congress of 1866 whose detailed resolution adopted on September 7 included the basic demand for the 8-hour working day. p. 227

[254] The minutes of the General Council meeting of August 28, 1866 are not recorded in the Minute Book. A report of this meeting was published in *The Commonwealth*, No. 182, September 1, 1866. The report reads:

"INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

"The Central Council met on Tuesday evening at 18, Bouverie Street, when Mr. *Lee*, the secretary of the Excavators' Society, attended to report to the Council the cause of the late disturbances between the *English and Belgian Excavators*. Mr. Lee said an agent of Waring Brothers had succeeded in inducing 430 Belgian workmen to come to England and work for less wages than the English workmen were being paid, and the result had been that several Englishmen had been forced out of employment to make way for the cheaper labour of the Belgians. The 430 were made up of excavators, carpenters, and blacksmiths. The Belgians were receiving from 2s. 4d. to 3s. per day, while the wages of the Englishmen, were from 3s. 9d. to 4s. per day. This lowering of wages by the Belgians had caused the late disturbances, which he and his brother members regretted. They were ready to receive the Belgians into their society. He also wished to ask on what terms the Excavators' Society which numbered several thousands could join the International Working Men's Association. After the question had been answered, and the whole matter fully discussed, it was resolved—'That in case the Excavators' Society take steps to form a branch in the district where the disturbance occurred, that the Central Council send a delegate speaking the Belgian language to accompany the excavators' delegates to induce the Belgians to join the Excavators' Society, also that the Central Council use its influence to prevent the importation of any more Belgians at such reduced prices.'

"REPORTS OF DEPUTATIONS

"Cit. *Jung* reported that the Cigar Makers' Association had agreed to join and had sent Citizens Walker and Church as their special delegates; they had also voted five pounds towards the Geneva Congress.

"Cit. *Cremer* reported that the Amalgamated Society of Saddlers and Harness Makers had joined and elected Cit. G. Peate as their delegate to the Central Council, they had also voted four pounds towards the Geneva Congress.

"Resolutions admitting both societies as affiliated societies and their delegates to the Council were carried unanimously.

"THE GENEVA CONGRESS

"The delegates to the above from England, will be Cits. Lawrence, Dupont, Carter, Cremer, Jung, and Eccarius.

"Cit. Odger was also appointed if circumstances would permit him to attend.

"The delegates leave London on Saturday morning, arriving in Geneva on Sunday evening, and the Congress will open on Monday morning, at 9 o'clock.

"The following sums of money have been received by the Council during the past week:

"Alliance Cabinet-Makers	£10 0 0
"West End Ditto	£ 5 0 0
"Cigar Makers' Association	£ 5 0 0
"Amalgamated Saddlers and Harness Makers . .	£ 4 0 0
"Arbeiter-Bildungs-Verein	£ 2 0 0
"Spoke's Tin Factory, Tottenham Court Road. .	£ 0 11 9."

p. 228

255 The London Conference of the International was held from September 25 to 29, 1865. The morning sittings were attended by the Standing Committee members together with the Continental delegates, the evening sittings—by all members of the General Council and the Continental delegates. The Conference proceedings terminated with a soirée, held on September 28, to celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the International Association (see Note 287), which adopted the address to the people of the United States of America (see pp. 310-12 of the present volume). The Conference minutes, which were recorded by Cremer, Le Lubez and Howell, are extant. A report of the Conference was also published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 134, September 30, 1865, which gives some facts omitted in the minutes. The supplementary newspaper material is given in the following explanatory notes. p. 229

256 The report in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 134, September 30, 1865 states: "The delegates of the several nationalities first met at 3 o'clock, at the Freemason's Arms, Long Acre, for mutual introduction, and preliminary matters of business and finance.

"The following delegates gave in their credentials:—France, Messieurs Schily, Fribourg, Tolain, Varlin, Limousin and Clarion; Switzerland, Dupleix and Becker; Belgium, César De Paepe; also Dumesnil-Marigny, Dr. Marx, Eccarius, Lessner, Kaub, Schapper, Vésinier, Dupont, Le Lubez, Jung, Major Wolff, Bobczynski, Lochner, Bolleter, &c., from the various French, German, Italian, Swiss, and Polish societies in this country; together with the various English delegates as Cremer, Dell, Odger, Weston, Howell, Shaw, Wheeler, &c., &c, representing their central and affiliating bodies." p. 231

[257] Concerning the establishment of the International's French section in Switzerland see Notes 26 and 76. p. 233

[258] Concerning the formation of the Belgian section see Notes 78 and 126. p. 233

[259] In *The Workman's Advocate:* "After some business of a preliminary character, the delegates adjourned to 8, Adelphi-terrace, Strand, where the Conference was held." p. 235

[260] The reference is to the appeal issued by the committee of the Geneva section on February 5, 1865, in the German and French languages, under the headings: "Aufruf an alle Arbeiter, Arbeitervereine und Arbeiterassociationen in der Schweiz zum Beitritt der Internationalen Arbeiter-Association", and "A Monsieur le Président et à Messieurs les Membres de la Société". The appeal in German was printed as a separate leaflet and reprinted in the Hamburg labour paper *Nordstern*, No. 300, March 11, 1865. The French text was lithographed in leaflet form. The German and French texts are not identical. p. 237

[261] In *The Workman's Advocate:* "... [They] had been the means of bringing an employer to justice for a breach of contract, and an infringement of their laws." p. 237

[262] In *The Workman's Advocate:* "They had already done good service in their country, through the International Association, and would work still harder in the future. They were in favour of Polish nationality as a political question, and of co-operative labour as a social one, capable of great good for working men. They were opposed to private property in land." p. 238

[263] In *The Workman's Advocate:* "Several foreign delegates spoke in favour of a recognised International organ, to communicate their views to their fellow-workers throughout Europe, and indeed the world.... Several delegates remarked that no weekly paper had a foreign correspondence, whereas their paper would be able to produce the best in the world." p. 238

[264] In *The Workman's Advocate*: "Dr. Marx and others were elected as conductors of this department." p. 239

[265] The law on the expulsion of undesirable foreigners was passed in Belgium in 1835 and renewed every three years. Despite the broad protest movement carried on by the Belgian press and the public this law was renewed, for the tenth time, at the end of June 1865. p. 240

[266] Concerning the situation in Germany see Liebknecht's written

report to the London Conference, pp. 251-60 of the present volume. p. 240

[267] The First Congress of the International Working Men's Association was held in Geneva from September 3 to 8, 1866; the decision to postpone the congress was taken by the General Council on May 1, 1866 (see pp. 183-84 of the present volume). p. 241

[268] See Note 129. p. 241

[269] In the report in *The Workman's Advocate*: "who shall bring credentials properly authenticated by the citizens deputing them." p. 243

[270] The report in *The Workman's Advocate* says that Cremer's resolution was seconded by Eccarius. p. 243

[271] In *The Workman's Advocate:* "[of] not less than thirty working men. . . ." p. 243

[272] The report in *The Workman's Advocate* gives the speeches of some of the Conference delegates which were not recorded in the minutes by Le Lubez: "*Fribourg* opposed any society being present, except those belonging to the Association. But would allow all members the privilege of attending and taking part in the deliberations of the Congress.

"*Lassassie,* was not in favour of open doors; the French people knew little of open discussion or they would not support it. With open doors it would last six months. No, delegates only must speak and vote.

"Mr. *Cremer,* was in favour of open doors in the same sense as our House of Commons, but none but representatives should take any part in speaking or voting. The plan advocated by the French delegates would destroy its representative character altogether. If it were representative in character, the people of Europe would pause to listen to its deliberations, but if not it would be looked upon with derision and scorn. He could not understand the Parisian delegates objecting to such a system, for upon any other basis the Congress would be a farce." p. 244

[273] *The Workman's Advocate* reports the further discussion as follows: "*Schily* would vote in favour of the proposition. Bonapartism, if it sought to influence our deliberations, would sail under our colours.

"*Howell* urged those present to well consider before they destroyed the representative character of the Congress. Would it be right to allow a man who only paid his shilling, and had no delegated authority, to outvote another man sent by five hun-

dred members? Would they have been satisfied if the Conference had been filled with English delegates, so as to overpower the voice and authority of the Continental representatives? Yet this was the meaning of the proposition. He should vote for the amendment.

"The question was further discussed by Mr. Weston and others." p. 245

274 In *The Workman's Advocate* the report reads: "... Ultimately the following amendment of Mr. *Shaw* was carried unanimously, 'That the Congress shall consist of representative men *only*, who shall bring credentials properly authenticated by the branches of the Association deputing them'." p. 245

275 The minutes of the Standing Committee's afternoon meeting with the Continental delegates on September 27, 1865 are not extant. p. 245

276 The proposal was submitted to the Conference by J. Ph. Becker. p. 245

277 The proposal to establish international credit societies was made by Carter and seconded by Le Lubez. In the report in *The Workman's Advocate* the proposal is recorded as follows: "That an international credit fund, or banking system, be established, its form and mode of operation to be settled hereafter." p. 246

278 The proposal was made by Bobczynski, seconded by Wheeler. In *The Workman's Advocate*: "... and to re-establish that country upon its native democratic basis." p. 246

279 De Paepe had in mind the widespread movement of the Russian peasantry deceived and robbed by the Reform of 1861. The watchword "land and liberty", which voiced the interests of the peasant masses, had been advanced in the article "What Do the People Need?" written by Ogaryov, a Russian revolutionary democrat, in collaboration with representatives of the revolutionary organisation in Russia and published in Herzen's *Kolokol* (*The Bell*), June 1, 1861. To the question asked in the heading the article gave the answer: "very simply, the people need land and liberty". The revolutionary organisation, Land and Liberty, active in Russia in the early sixties of the nineteenth century took this watchword for its name. Obviously De Paepe knew of the facts relating to the development of the peasant movement in Russia and to the existence and activities of this organisation from the magazines *Kolokol* and *Zemlya i Volya* (*Land and Liberty*), and from other sources. p. 246

[280] In *The Workman's Advocate* De Paepe is quoted as follows: "The watchwords of the Russian peasants were 'Land and Liberty', and should be the watchwords of the Polish peasant also... the French Government was quite as dangerous to liberty as the Russian. It was their influence which procured the passing of that abominable act against foreigners in Belgium which rendered necessary the removal of the Congress to Geneva...."

De Paepe's proposal that the question should not be discussed was seconded by Bordage. p. 247

[281] In *The Workman's Advocate* Bobczynski's speech is reported in greater detail: "In France, Hungary, and Italy, her sons fought heroically in the cause of European liberty. Her sons wanted to be free; that was the key to their earnest, but, alas, almost useless, struggles. International sympathy makes no distinction between peoples; but we select Poland because she has striven most in her own cause. She has tried to fulfil the condition of the poet:

A nation to be free,
Herself must strike the blow.

"If she had failed, cowardice was not the cause, for she had struck nobly and well. They must not separate social and political questions, for political reforms must be the precursor of social advancement, they are inevitably bound up together and cannot be separated. Poland is the keynote to European freedom; she is democratic or nothing; she declares for freedom for all." p. 247

[282] The reference is to the large meeting held on July 22, 1863, in St. James's Hall, London, in protest against the suppression of the Polish Insurrection. The meeting had been organised by leaders of the British trade unions. Cremer, Odger, Stainsby and other trade-unionists, and a delegation of French workers composed of Tolain, Perrachon, Bibal, Cohadon and Murat had been present. The meeting was one of the precursors of the Inaugural Meeting held in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1864.

The report of the meeting was published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 93, July 25, 1863. p. 247

[283] *The Workman's Advocate* erroneously reports that Marx proposed the religious question for discussion. This subsequently gave Howell cause for alleging in his slanderous article on the history of the International, published in the *Nineteenth Century* (July 1878), that Marx "sowed the seeds of discord and decay by the introduction of the *Religious Idea*". Exposing Howell

Marx wrote (see *The Secular Chronicle*, August 4, 1878):

"The programme of the General Council contained not one syllable on 'Religion', but at the instance of the Paris delegates the forbidden dish got into the bill of fare in store for the prospective Congress, in this dressing:—'Religious ideas (not 'The Religious Idea', as Howell's spurious version has it), their influence on the social, political and intellectual movement.'

"The topic of discussion thus introduced by the Paris delegates was left in their keeping; in point of fact, they dropped it at the Geneva Congress of 1866, and no one else picked it up." p. 248

284 *The Workman's Advocate* quotes Fribourg as saying: "They were neither materialists nor brutes. The question was an important one, and must be entertained." p. 248

285 *The Workman's Advocate* contains the following passage: "De Paepe was in favour of the proposition, but it must not be viewed through a fanatic's eye belonging to either the Romish or Protestant churches." p. 248

286 The report in *The Workman's Advocate adds*: "Tolain thought if it were left out it would be a sign of weakness. It was necessary to retain it to complete our programme. We shall then stand on the broad basis of social, political, and religious progress." p. 248

287 On the following day, September 28, 1865, a soirée was held in St. Martin's Hall, to celebrate the foundation of the International Working Men's Association (for the programme of the soirée see pp. 307-09 of the present volume). *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 135, October 7, 1865, carried the following report of the soirée:

"The Conference (a full report of which appeared in our last issue) terminated its proceedings by a most successful soirée on Thursday evening, in St. Martin's Hall.

"The hall was most appropriately decorated with flags of the different nationalities, the place of honour being assigned to the Stars and Stripes of America. The soirée served a threefold purpose—first, to celebrate the anniversary of the Association; secondly, to welcome the Continental delegates; and, thirdly, to adopt an address to the people of America congratulating them on the success of the Federal arms and the extinction of slavery. Over 300 sat down to tea, the social qualities of which seemed equally to be appreciated by the Continental delegates and their English friends.

"Tea being over Citizen *Odger* (the President) was called to the chair. He explained that the Association originated in a desire that was felt by the working classes in this country, and different parts of Europe, to unite for the purpose of effecting a combination of the peoples, with a view to put an end to the tyranny that prevailed in reference to Poland and other oppressed nations. From its humble origin by a few working men, it had now grown into a great organisation, and included amongst its members French, German, Belgian, Swiss, Italian, and Polish representatives, and had enrolled a large number of members in these countries. The Association had issued an Address, which was extensively circulated, and the principles embodied in it had received the concurrence of a large number of the thinking portion of the industrious classes. One of the prominent objects of the Association was to create such a fraternal feeling amongst the peoples, to get rid of national antipathies, so as to lessen the chances of Governments engaging in wars which only served their nefarious designs and bred discord among nations and peoples whose interests it was to be united. If that union had long since been effected, would the liberties of Poland and Hungary have been trampled out, or would the French Government have interfered in Italy and crushed the Roman Republic, the purest form of government ever established in that country. (*Applause.*) He concluded by an earnest appeal to the meeting, and to the country through the press, to forward the progress of the Association, whose object was the enfranchisement of all nations, and the elevation of our common humanity. (*Cheers.*)

"The President then called on Citizen Cremer to propose the adoption of the Address to the People of America, which we are compelled, from the pressure on our space, to postpone the publication of till next week.

After having read the address, which was much applauded, Citizen *Cremer* said, twelve months ago today, under this very roof, but in a very much smaller hall than the noble one in which we are now assembled, the International Working Men's Association was ushered into existence, and we were here today to congratulate each other on the glorious results which had been achieved in the short space of twelve months—then we were quite unknown, now we were known all over Europe, and had many friends in America; then we were units now we were thousands; then we had no well-defined public principles, now we have a common platform accepted throughout Europe; then we were isolated from each other, now we are united, and he believed the Association had a bright and happy future. At one

soirée which he had attended at that hall, and which purported to be a working men's demonstration, there were none but the middle and upper classes to address the meeting, but at this the order of things was reversed, and none but working men were to address the meeting; this was in fact the secret of the success; they had no need for patronage, but had determined to do their own work themselves. (*Cheers.*) They had given the American flag the place of honour that evening, as they had done on a former occasion, because it represented the land of liberty and the home of the free. There the exile and the oppressed toiler could find a haven of rest. The Association whose anniversary they celebrated that evening had a peculiar right to congratulate the American people. They had addressed them before; when interest and a hatred of free institutions in this country had reviled their government and insulted their people, then the members of that Association, true to their principles, had addressed words of sympathy to their transatlantic brethren, and received their grateful acknowledgments in return. America was now free from the pollution of slavery. The South had appealed from the ballot to the bullet, and are now beaten at both. The men who took a prominent part in this Association, had never, in the darkest hour of the republic, despaired of its ultimate triumph—and when told that 'democratic institutions were on their trial', they accepted the challenge, and abided the issue, which had now arrived. Democracy had triumphed, slavery had perished, the republic was saved; and the flag, which had for four years been so often insulted by the privileged classes of Europe, will yet proudly wave throughout the world, the emblem of liberty, and the hope of the oppressed. He echoed every sentiment of congratulation contained in the address which he had the pleasure to propose for their adoption. He would conclude with the beautiful lines so forcibly realised in the late American contest:—

> *Freedom's battle, once begun,*
> *Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,*
> *Though baffled oft, is ever won. (Cheers.)*

"Mr. *Charles Bradlaugh,* in seconding the adoption of the address, said,—It did not merely represent that meeting, but the working men of Europe. They were assembled that night in their representative character, and spoke in the name and by the authority of thousands of earnest toilers throughout Europe. He deeply sympathised with the sentiments of the address, and with the objects of the Association generally. Not only had

they the American flag over their heads, but he could see one mutely expressing their deepest and most earnest longings—the freedom of Venice and Rome. (*Loud and long continued cheering.*) To effect universal liberty, men must know their duties and take their rights. There must be something higher in our aspirations than mere nationality. To live on the banks of the Po, the Seine, or the Thames does not confer the right to greatness or freedom. No; it must be honesty, integrity, and ability. We must not suffer crowned heads to use us as tools for their own purpose and the oppression of other peoples. Yet so they have used us in the past: let it never return. (*Cheers.*) The gilded thing called a crown could in a moment be pulverised by the strong, stern arm; yet in its hesitation its strength is lost, and the bauble resumes its power over the weak, the superstitious, and the ignorant, and by the aid of the self-interest of court parasites, again oppresses the people. (*Cheers.*) Let them be true to their principles, and these things will become a thing of the past, and truth and justice will triumph. (*Applause.*)

"The address was then adopted by acclamation.

"M. *Tolain*, one of the French delegates, then addressed the meeting in French, and was very enthusiastically received. He assured the Association that their efforts were duly appreciated in France, where their movements were watched with the greatest interest.

"*Philipp Becker*, a tried champion of democracy, spoke in German. He said,—For the first time in history, delegates have assembled in the name of the working men of the world. The aim of the International Working Men's Association was the emancipation of the labouring poor. Under emancipation he understood no piecemeal reform, but the entire liberation from all forms of oppression, social, political, and religious. The emancipation of the working class meant peace between labour and capital; it meant that the men of labour should also be the men of capital —not in their individual capacity, but as co-operative bodies working for themselves. He farther gave a brief sketch of the wrongs of Poland, and spoke of the paramount interest Europe had to put a stop to Russian aggression by a restoration of the independence of Poland.

"Citizen *De Paepe*, the delegate from Belgium, next addressed the meeting. He said that the Association would leave its mark on the nineteenth century. Its influence, even up to the present, has been such that it can never be effaced. The lot of the workman has been to sweat, to pay, and to die a premature death. Whereas, before eternal justice, the fruits of labour belong to

the producer alone. He alone ought to possess wealth, as he alone produces it. Now the things were precisely the reverse. Numbers of workers were condemned to starve, in order that a few non-producers may die with plethora. In Belgium, the Catholic clergy were very bad; he did not [know] how the Protestants were; he had been told they were even more intolerant, that he did not know, but he knew they were all partizans, as bodies, to the present state of things. After a very eloquent speech, he concluded by expressing a wish:—'That this Association may become the link by which all men of heart may be united, and by their union cause pauperism, misery, ignorance, vice, and crime to disappear, as well as all class distinctions, and that all men may become honourable workers.' (*Loud cheers.*)

"Citizen *Bobczynski*, delegate from the Polish Association, also addressed the meeting in a brief but eloquent speech.

"At the conclusion of the speeches a very large and handsome tri-coloured flag was hung over the end gallery with the following names—Italy, Poland, Hungary, Mazzini, Garibaldi, which created an immense burst of cheering, which was again and again repeated.

"The speaking was interspersed with music and singing by the Garibaldian Band and the German Working Men's Choir, which gave the *Marseillaise* and other pieces with much effect.

"The hall was then cleared for dancing, which amusement was followed up with much spirit for some hours.

"At two o'clock the Committee and delegates assembled in the Committee room, where Citizen Cremer was most warmly received, and the thanks of the delegates accorded to him for the able manner in which the soirée had been got up and the splendid success they had that night witnessed." p. 249

[288] The reference is to the address to the people of the United States of America, adopted at the anniversary meeting of September 28, 1865 (see pp. 310-12 of the present volume). p. 249

[289] The report on the working-class movement in Germany which Liebknecht had written in English was not read at the London Conference. "As regards your report," Marx wrote to Liebknecht on November 21, 1865, "I did not read it at the Conference since too much prominence is given in it to me." Liebknecht's report, which was found among Marx's papers, is published in English in the present volume for the first time. p. 251

[290] The reference is to the London German Workers' Educational Association (see Note 4) which every year commemorated, togeth-

er with the French émigrés, the 1848 June uprising of the Paris proletariat. p. 254

[291] The report to the General Council meeting of January 24, 1865 (see p. 66 of the present volume) was made by Marx on the basis of a letter from Liebknecht, dated January 21, 1865. He wrote the draft of his report in English between the lines of Liebknecht's letter. p. 263

[292] The reference is to *Der Social-Demokrat* (see Note 55). p. 263

[293] The notes are extant in Marx's note-book and are a translation of portions of Schily's detailed letter to him of February 25-28, 1865. From Marx's letter to Engels, dated March 4, 1865, it is evident that the notes were for his report to the Standing Committee meeting of March 4. In the brackets Marx gives the pages of Schily's letter. The note-book also contains the original resolution on the conflict in the Paris section drafted by Marx (see Note 56). p. 264

[294] As is evident from Schily's letter, on the morning of February 24 Lefort expressed his misgivings that the "Bonapartists might deceive" the members of the Paris Administration, and thought that a guarantee against this would be his appointment as the Association's defender in Paris. The events ascribed to February 25 in the notes took place on the 24th. p. 264

[295] On March 12, 1865, Jung informed Marx that he had been instructed to draw up a summary of the conflict in the Paris section for the information of the International's members in France and asked Marx to help him in the matter. On March 13 Marx let him know that he would, and on March 18 he met Jung and gave him his remarks, written on three leaves of paper. The final text, following their discussion, appeared on the back of the first leaf, parly in Marx's hand and partly in Jung's (see pp. 269 70 of the present volume). p. 265

[296] The reference is to the protest against the appointment of Schily as the General Council's representative on the Paris Administration. The protest was signed by a group of French petty-bourgeois democrats (Le Lubez, Bordage, Leroux, Denoual, Bocquet) and read at the General Council meeting of March 14, 1865. As is evident from a letter to Marx, dated March 22, Jung, following Marx's memorandum, explained the situation to the General Council members; he succeeded in splitting the Le Lubez group, as a result of which Le Lubez and Denoual withdrew from the Council on April 4. p. 266

[297] See Note 57. p. 266

[298] The note is a summary of Ernest Jones's letter to Marx, under date March 16, 1865. Owing to his departure for Germany Marx was unable himself to report on the letter to the General Council. The summary is written on the back of one of the leaves of the memorandum to Jung apropos of the conflict in the Paris section of the International. p. 271

[299] See Note 94. p. 271

[300] These notes were made by Marx in his note-book in connection with his report on wages, price and profit which he delivered at the General Council meetings of June 20 and 27 (see Note 73). For the final text of the resolutions submitted by Marx see Note 107. p. 272

[301] The minutes of the General Council meeting of January 16, 1866 were taken down by Marx on a separate piece of paper. p. 273

[302] The Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association, which was written by Marx, was adopted by the General Council at its meeting of November1, 1864 (see p. 44 of the present volume). It was printed together with the Provisional Rules as a separate pamphlet by *The Bee-Hive* publishers (see Note 18). A list of the General Council members was given at the end of the pamphlet.

"Names and Nationalities of the Central Provisional Council.

"*English:* Longmaid, Worley, Leno, Whitlock, Fox, Blackmore, Hartwell, Pidgeon, Lucraft, Weston, Dell, Shearman, Nieass, Shaw, Lake, Buckley, Odger, Howell, Osborne, Carter, Gray, Wheeler, Stainsby, Morgan, Grossmith, Cremer, Dick.

"*French:* Denoual, Le Lubez, Jourdain, Morrissot, Leroux, Bordage, Bocquet, Talandier, Dupon.

"*Italian:* L. Wolff, Fontana, Setacci, Aldovrandi, Lama, Solustri.

"*Swiss:* Nusperli, Jung.

"*German:* Eccarius, Wolff, Otto, Lessner, Pfänder, Lochner, Marx, Kaub, Bolleter.

"*Polish:* Holtorp, Rybczinski.

GEORGE ODGER, President of Central Council.
GEORGE W. WHEELER, Honorary Treasurer.
KARL MARX, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Germany.
G. P. FONTANA, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Italy.

J. E. HOLTORP, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Poland.
HERMANN F. JUNG, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland.
P. V. LE LUBEZ, Honorary Corresponding Secretary for France.
WILLIAM R. CREMER, Honorary General Secretary." p. 277

303 The Provisional Rules of the International Association, drawn up by Marx, were adopted by the General Council at its meeting of November 1, 1864 (see p. 44 of the present volume). p. 288

304 The meeting referred to in the "Berichtigung" ("Correction"), which was written by Marx, was held in St. Martin's Hall, London, on March 1, 1865. The General Council played a notable part in this meeting commemorating the Polish insurrection of 1863-64 (see Note 53). The English bourgeois press, including the London liberal *Daily News*, had covered the speeches made at the meeting by Beales, Leverson and other bourgeois radicals, but had passed over in silence the resolution submitted on behalf of the International and the speeches made by the General Council members Fox and Eccarius. A full report of the meeting appeared in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 177, March 4, 1865; Marx used this report for his "Correction" sent to the Zurich *Der weiße Adler* which had published the garbled report reprinted from the English press.

The manuscript of the "Correction", which Marx enclosed in a letter to Jung, dated April 13, 1865, is extant. As Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland Jung had to send it to the newspaper with a covering letter. The "Correction", signed by Jung, was printed in *Der Weiße Adler*, No. 48, April 22, 1865. p. 292

305 The address of the International Working Men's Association to President Johnson was drawn up by Marx in pursuance of the General Council's decision of May 2, and was adopted by the Council at its meeting of May 9, 1865. p. 294

306 The decision to address an invitation to working men's societies in Britain to join the International was taken by the General Council at its meeting of June 6, 1865 (see p. 105 of the present volume). p. 297

307 The address of the Industrial Newspaper Company (see Note 124) was drawn up in the latter part of August 1865 by a special committee composed of five General Council members: Odger, Wheeler, Worley, Kaub and Eccarius, and was approved by the

Company's Board of Directors at its meeting of August 22, 1865, which Marx attended. The address was printed in *The Miner and Workman's Advocate*, No. 130, September 2, 1865. p. 299

308 This document was drawn up at the same time as the Industrial Newspaper Company's address to the workers of Great Britain and Ireland (see foregoing note). The prospectus was printed in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 132, September 16, 1865, and in subsequent issues. p. 301

309 The General Council printed its announcement about the convocation of the London Conference in two leaflets, the texts of which are practically identical. The second leaflet listed the names of the General Council members from whom tickets could be obtained for the soirée on September 28, to celebrate the founding of the International Working Men's Association (see the illustration between pp. 122-23). The announcement was also printed, but without the programme, in *The Workman's Advocate*, Nos. 131-33, September 9, 16 and 23, 1865, respectively. p. 305

310 The announcement about the soirée to be held in St. Martin's Hall on September 28, 1865 (see Note 287), was printed by the General Council in leaflet form. p. 307

311 The address to the people of the United States of America was adopted at the soirée held on September 28, 1865, which was attended by the British members of the International the delegates to the London Conference from France, Switzerland and Belgium and by representatives of the democratic and revolutionary emigration. The address, which Cremer proposed on behalf of the General Council, was carried by acclamation. At a meeting of the Standing Committee with the Continental delegates on September 29, it was resolved to send copies of the address to all the Association's sections. The address appeared in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 136, October 14, 1865. p. 310

312 The appeal of the British members of the General Council to the workers of the United Kingdom in connection with the Geneva Congress was drawn up by Cremer on the instructions of the Standing Committee and approved by the Council on January 16, 1866. The appeal was published in *The Workman's Advocate*, No. 152, February 3, 1866, and also put out as a separate leaflet. p. 313

313 After the meeting of July 22, 1863 (see Note 282), a committee was elected to write an address, on behalf of the English workers, to the workers of France. The address, drawn up by Odger, was

approved by a meeting of trade-unionists held in the Bell Inn, Old Bailey, in November 1863, and published in *The Bee-Hive Newspaper*, No. 112, December 5, 1863. p. 313

[314] The letter to the editor of *Echo de Verviers* was written by Jung by decision of the General Council and edited by Marx, as is evident from Jung's letters to Marx of January 15 and 26, 1866. The letter was in reply to Vésinier's slanderous attacks in the paper against the General Council (see Note 146). p. 317

[315] *Société du Dix Decembre (Society of December 10)*—a Bonapartist society, founded in 1849; consisted mainly of declassed elements. p. 323

[316] *Société du Grütli (Grütli Society)*—a Swiss petty-bourgeois reformist organisation, founded in 1838. p. 324

[317] The said document was drawn up by Fox following the General Council discussion, on February 20 and March 6, 1866, of the question of the Irish state prisoners. The document, signed by Odger, was published by decision of the Council in *The Commonwealth*, No. 157, March 10, 1866. p. 327

[318] *"Warnung" (A Warning")* was written by Marx by decision of the General Council in connection with the importation into Scotland of German and Danish tailors during the strike of the Endinburgh tailors (see Notes 195 and 196). p. 335

[319] The appeal was discussed at the General Council meeting, June 5, 1866 (see Note 214). p. 337

[320] See Note 213. p. 337

[321] The *"Instructions for the Delegates of the Provisional General Council"* were drawn up by Marx for the delegates to the First Congress of the International Association, held in Geneva on September 3-8, 1866. On July 17 the General Council decided that the Congress programme should be elaborated and discussed; on July 31 Marx reported on the programme, on behalf of the Standing Committee; the Instructions were drawn up a little later in English and translated into French by Lafargue; they were read at the Geneva Congress as the official report of the General Council. p. 340

[322] At its convention in Baltimore in August 1866, the National Labour Union declared that the demand for the 8-hour day was an indispensable condition for freeing labour from capitalist slavery. p. 343

NAME INDEX

A

Aberdeen, George Gordon, Earl of (1784-1860)—British statesman, Tory, leader of the Peelites from 1850 on, Foreign Secretary (1828-30, 1841-46) and Prime Minister of the Coalition Cabinet (1852-55).—328.

Adams, Charles Francis (1807-1886)—American diplomat and politician, Republican, Minister to Great Britain (1861-68).—54, 55, 57, 69, 99.

Ailloux (or *Ailloud*), *Jean-Alphonse* (born c. 1828)—Frensh worker, tailor, participant in the French co-operative movement; chairman of the Vienne (France) section of the International founded in 1866, delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867).—224.

Aldovrandi, P.—member of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-65).—36, 46, 53, 65, 87.

Allan, William (1813-1874)—British worker, mechanic, trade-union leader, reformist, one of the organisers and General Secretary of the Amalgamated Engineers (1851-74)—first big trade union of British workers; in the 1860s one of the leaders of the London Trades Council, opposed affiliation to the International; one of the leaders of the Labour Representation League.—219.

Applegarth, Robert (1833-1925)—British worker, cabinet-maker; one of the reformist leaders of the trade-union movement, General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1862-71), member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865, 1868-72), delegate to the Basle Congress of the International (1869), one of the Reform League leaders; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address. "The

Civil War in France"; usbsequently left the working-class movement.—301.

Ayers, William—British trade-unionist, representative of the Operative Bricklayers' Society; member of the General Council of the International (1866).—174, 206.

B

Bagnagatti, G.—Secretary of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65).—51, 53, 61, 109.

Bannister, William—nominated to the General Council on May 16, 1865, but was not elected.—98.

Barthélemy—French worker, painter on glass, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Battaille—French clerk, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866, came out against the police tyranny of the Second Empire.—202.

Baudrand, Louis—correspondent of the International in Neuville-sur-Saône (France), in 1866 delegate to the Geneva Congress from the Fleurieux-sur-Saône section.—211.

Beales, Edmond (1803-1881)—English jurist, bourgeois radical; President of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; member of the British Emancipation Society which during the American Civil War supported the North; President of the Reform League (1865-69).—58, 62, 64, 74, 136, 292.

Becker, Bernhard (1826-1882)—German publicist, follower of Lassalle; President of the General Association of German Workers (1864-65); delegate to the Hague Congress of the International, 1872.—87.

Becker, Johann Philipp (1809-1886)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, brush maker, participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; organiser of the German sections of the International in Switzerland, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and to all the congresses of the International; editor of the journal *Der Vorbote* (1866-71); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—92, 98, 144, 176, 181, 231, 234, 237, 239, 241, 307, 321, 324.

Beesly, Edward Spencer (1831-1915)—English historian and public figure, positivist philo-

sopher; took an active part in the democratic movement of the 1860s; presided at the inaugural meeting of the International held in St. Martin's Hall, September 28, 1864 during the Paris Commune defended the International in the English press; was on friendly terms with Marx.—36, 45, 58, 62.

Bellet—French clerk, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Beluze, Jean Pierre (1821-1908)—French worker, cabinet-maker; petty-bourgeois socialist, pupil and follower of Cabet; director of the Crédit au Travail bank (1862-68); one of the founders of *L'Association*, organ of the co-operative movement; member of the International; subsequently left the working-class movement.—78, 86, 322.

Benière Eugène—correspondent of the International in Neuville-sur-Saône (France), took part in organising the International's sections in France; Proudhonist.—211.

Besson, Alexander—French worker, mechanic, an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, one of the leaders of the French branch in London; belonged to the group of petty-bourgeois republicans, followers of Felix Pyat.—197, 199, 339.

Biloschy (or Bilosci)—member of the Council of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the International.—61.

Bismarck, Otto, von Schönhausen Prince (1815-1898)—statesman and diplomat, Prussian Junker; Ambassador at St. Petersburg (1859-62) and at Paris (1862), Prime Minister of Prussia (1862-71), Chancellor of the German Empire (1871-90); carried through the unification of Germany by counter-revolutionary means; bitter enemy of the working-class movement; author of the Anti-Socialist Law (1878).—204, 205, 255, 257, 321.

Blackmore (or *Blackmoor*)—participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65) and of the Reform League.—36, 43, 44, 47, 53, 69.

Bobczynski, Konstantin—took part in the Polish insurrection of 1863, afterwards emigrated to London; member of the General Council of the

International (1865-68), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (from May 1866 on), participant in the London Conference of 1865; in 1866 moved to Birmingham.—64, 65, 87, 128, 129, 132, 134, 139, 156, 177, 187, 204, 205, 207, 209, 212, 213, 231, 235, 241, 247, 308.

Bocquet, Jean Baptiste—French petty-bourgeois democrat, republican; took part in the Revolution of 1848 in France, afterwards emigrated to London, friend of Herzen; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65).—45, 53, 80.

Bolleter, Heinrich—German émigré in London, owner of the tavern in 2, Nassau Street, Soho, where workers often held their meetings; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—45, 49, 53, 55, 56; 64, 86, 87, 97, 129; 134; 239; 295.

Bonaparte. See *Napoleon III.*

Booth, John Wilkes (1839-1865)—American actor, supporter of the South in the American Civil War, assassin of President Abraham Lincoln.—294.

Bordage, P.—member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-66), participant in the London Conference of 1865, member of the French branch in London.—36, 41, 53, 77, 80, 89, 92, 93, 126, 127, 132; 167; 296.

Bosc—correspondent of the International in St. Denis (suburb of Paris).—109.

Boula—French worker, painter on glass, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Bouzet—member of the International in France.—196.

Breitschwert, Otto Ludwig (pseudonym *L. Otto*) (1836-1890)—German journalist; member of the General Council of the International (1864).—48, 50, 53.

Breuillé, A.—French clerk, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; came out against the police tyranny of the Second Empire.—202.

Brien—in August 1865 was nominated for membership to the General Council but was not elected.—123, 125.

Brochure—French worker, painter on glass, signed the second appeal of the youth

of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Bruno—French worker, painter on glass, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Buckley, James—British trade-unionist, member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-69) and of the Reform League.—48, 53, 60, 87, 172; 173; 176; 177; 179; 194; 222; 295; 315, 339.

Burns, Robert (1759-1796)—great Scottish democratic poet.—302.

Burry, James—British trade-unionist member of the Executive Committee of the London Operative Tailors' Protective Association; member of the General Council of the International (1866).—179, 182, 209, 213, 214; 216.

Buzon—correspondent of the International in Bordeaux (France).—180.

C

Campbell, Alexander—British trade-union leader, Owenist; founder of the Union of Carpenters and Joiners in Glasgow; published several workers' papers.—78.

Canessa, L. D.—active participant in the Italian national-liberation movement; one of the leaders of the Federation of Workers' Co-operative Socities of Genoa; after the death of Savi, was editor (1865-May 1866) of *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane*, central organ of the Italian workers.—189, 197.

Carter, James—British worker, perfumer; member of the Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-67) and Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866-67), participant in the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—36, 39, 42-46, 49, 50, 53, 56, 64, 70, 71, 76, 78, 98, 104, 113, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 136, 165, 177, 179, 182, 192, 198, 201, 205, 209, 213, 217, 223, 244, 247, 248, 296, 315, 337.

Cattaneo, Carlo (1801-1869)—Italian politician, philosopher and economist, bourgeois republican, active participant in the Italian Revolution of 1848.—172.

Cheval—French worker living in Belgium; in September 1865, on instructions of the Brussels section of the International, helped to establish direct ties with the General Council.—127.

Chevalier, Michel (1806-1879)—French engineer, economist and publicist; in the 1830s, follower of Saint-Simon, subsequently Free Trader; Senator in the period of the Second Empire, active supporter of Napoleon III's economic policy.—101.

Christmas—member of the Board of Directors of the Industrial Newspaper Company.—301.

Clare, John (1793-1864)—English poet, the son of a farm-labourer, farm hand.—302.

Clarion (or *Clariol*)—delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865) from the Paris Compositors' Society.—231, 323.

Cloots, Anacharsis (1755-1794)—one of the leaders of the French bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century, was close to the Left Jacobins.—338.

Cole, James—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Colomb, T. M.—correspondent of the International in Neuville-sur-Saône (France).—211.

Colonieu—on July 24, 1866, was nominated to the General Council but was not elected.—214.

Combault, Amédée Benjamin (born c. 1838—died not earlier than 1884)—French worker, jeweller; active in the French working-class movement; during his first period of emigration in London became a member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), later on took an active part in the International's work in Paris; in 1870 founded one of the Paris sections of the International and entered the Paris Federal Council; was involved in the third legal action against the International Working Men's Association in France; member of the Paris Commune, Chief of the Board of Direct Taxes; afterwards again emigrated to London.—195, 214.

Coningsby, Robert—secretary of the organising committee of the Anglo-French Industrial Exhibition which opened in London in August 1865.—101, 102.

Cope, James—British trade-unionist, member of the London Boot-Closers' Society, the London Trades Council, the General Council of the International (1865-67); participant in the London Con-

ference (1865).—122, 123, 315, 322.

Coraz—member of the International; in 1865 emigrated to America.—131, 161.

Corbet—landlord of the house in 18, Greek Street, Soho, meeting place of the General Council of the International between October 5, 1864 and January 2, 1866.—143, 146, 154.

Corbon, Claude Anthime (1808-1891)—French politician, republican, deputy to the Constituent Assembly (1848-49); after the fall of the Second Empire, the mayor of a department in Paris, deputy of the National Assembly (1871).—141.

Cornelius, D.—member of the General Council of the International (1864).—51, 53.

Cottam, Richard—English engraver, owner of the printing house which printed the International's membership cards up to 1870; member of the International.—112, 125.

Coullery, Pierre (1819-1903)—Swiss physician, democrat, Proudhonist, took part in founding the International's branch in La Chaux-de-Fonds; editor of the newspaper *La Voix de l'Avenir*; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; subsequently drew away from political activities.—143.

Coulson, Edwin (Edward?)—British trade-unionist, secretary of the London branch of Operative Bricklayers' Society, member of the London Trades Council; member of the General Council of the International (1865-66); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—73, 81, 82, 138, 180, 222, 225, 295, 301, 315, 322.

Cremer, William Randal (1828-1908)—active participant in the British trade-union and bourgeois-pacifist movement, reformist; one of the founders of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1860), member of the London Trades Council, the British National League for the Independence of Poland, and of Land and Labour League; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-66) and its General Secretary, delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League, opposed revolutionary tactics, during the Reform Movement allied himself with the bourgeoisie; subsequently Li-

beral M.P.—35-50, 54-60, 62-76, 79-106, 108-14, 118-23, 125-30, 133, 135, 137, 146, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 159-63, 164-69, 173, 177-81, 185-87, 189, 191-97, 199, 204, 205, 207, 209-12, 215, 216, 219, 221-23, 226, 227, 231, 233, 234, 236, 239. 240, 242-45, 271, 273, 274, 296, 298, 301, 306, 307, 309, 315, 322, 334.

Crespelle—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), member of the French branch in London where he upheld the General Council's policy.—155, 159, 273.

D

Dacosta, Charles—French teacher, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866, opposed the Second Empire's police tyranny; member of the Paris Commune, Blanquist, after the defeat of the Paris Commune was sentenced to penal servitude, escaped to England.—202.

Davis, Jefferson (1808-1889)—American statesman, big slave-owning planter, Democrat, one of the organisers of the Southern slave-owners' revolt; took part in the war with Mexico (1846-48); U.S. Secretary of War (1853-57), President of the Confederated States of America (1861-65).—294.

Dell, William—interior decorator, active in the British working-class and democratic movement; member of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes and of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69) and its Treasurer (1865, 1866-67), participated in the London Conference of 1865; one of the leaders of the Reform League.—35-37, 39, 40, 43, 44, 48, 49, 53, 55, 57, 58, 60, 62, 64, 66, 67, 70, 79, 86, 94, 98, 102-08, 114, 119-22, 128, 129, 132, 134, 135, 136, 144-46, 152, 161, 162, 172, 173, 179-80, 194, 209, 217, 222, 224, 225, 231, 233, 235, 295, 316.

De Marckel—correspondent of the International in Granville (France).—175, 183.

Denoual, Jules—French petty-bourgeois democrat, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall, member of the General Council of the International (1864-65).—53, 77, 80, 87, 96, 318.

De Paepe, César (1842-1890)—prominent figure in the Bel-

gian working-class and socialist movement, compositor subsequently physician; one of the founders of the Belgian section of the International (1865); member of the Belgian Federal Council; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses, and to the London Conference (1871) of the International; following the Hague Congress, supported the Bakunists for some time; one of the founders of the Belgian Workers' Party (1885).—131, 161, 233, 238, 240, 244, 246; 248, 308, 324.

Deroin, Jeanne-Françoise (1805-1894)—French publicist, seamstress, afterwards teacher, advocate of Utopian socialism, took part in founding the Seamstresses' Mutual Aid Society; in 1852 emigrated to England; publisher and editor of several women's periodicals.—131.

Defoe, Daniel (c. 1661-1731)—famous English author and publicist.—302.

Devaster—member of the General Council of the International (1865).—81, 82.

Dick, Alexander—British worker, baker, trade-unionist, member of the Amalgamated Bakers; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65); in 1865, in connection with his removal to New Zealand, was appointed the International's corresponding secretary for that country.—43, 46-50, 53, 70.

Donatti, Thomas—member of the General Council of the International (1865-66).—67, 315.

Duhamel, Ferdinand—correspondent of the International in Lisieux (France).—109, 111, 165.

Dujonquoy—*owner* of the New York Hotel in London, 1865.—137, 159, 162, 181, 271.

Dumesnil-Marigny, Jules (1810-1885)—French bourgeois economist and publicist; member of the International (1865), participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International.—231, 323.

Dupleix, François—Swiss worker, bookbinder, one of the organisers and chairman of the French section of the International in Geneva; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International.—92, 176 181, 231, 233, 237, 241, 244, 249, 308.

Dupont Eugène (c. 1831-1881)—prominent figure in the international working-class movement, French worker, musical instrument maker, took part in the 1848 June

uprising in Paris; from 1862 on lived in London; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72), Corresponding Secretary for France (1865-71), participant in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); Chairman of the Lausanne Congress (1867) and delegate to the Brussels (1868) Congress, the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; upheld Marx's policy in the International; in 1870 moved to Manchester where he formed a branch of the International; in 1872 became a member of the British Federal Council of the International; in 1874 moved to the U.S.A.—43, 53, 77, 78, 81, 85, 87-89, 91, 93, 95, 103, 105-07, 109, 111-14, 120, 124, 125, 129, 131, 138, 143, 145, 147, 155, 156, 159, 161, 163-69, 171, 172, 174, 175, 177-84, 186-88, 193-98, 199, 203, 208, 211, 214, 220, 224, 233, 235, 237, 273, 296, 297, 339.

Duthy—in September 1865, on instructions of the Brussels section of the International, helped to establish direct contact with the General Council.—127.

Dutton, James Frank—British worker, coachmaker, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—185, 187, 194-96, 198, 204 (?); 215 (?), 339.

Dutton, Ralph—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—185, 187, 197, 198, 201, 204, 205, 212, 215 (?).

E

Eccarius, Johann Georg (John George) (1818-1889)—prominent figure in the international and German working-class movement, working-class publicist tailor, an émigré in London; member of the League of the Just, later, of the Communist League; one of the founders of the London German Workers' Educational Association; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), Council's General Secretary (1867-71), Corresponding Secretary for America (1870-72), delegate to all the International's congresses and conferences; later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48-51, 53, 55, 58-60, 62, 64-67, 69-73, 75-77, 79, 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 93, 94, 97, 99, 102, 105, 108, 110, 112, 113, 114, 118-23, 125, 127-29, 133, 135, 138, 145, 159, 162, 165, 166, 169, 170, 172-77, 179, 181, 182, 197, 200, 206, 208, 215, 216,

219, 225, 228, 231, 235, 239, 244, 273, 292, 295, 301, 339.

Eichler—German worker, painter, in 1862 was sent by the National Labour Union to the London Industrial Exhibition; subsequently exposed as an agent-provocateur in the working-class movement. —254, 255.

Elliott, Ebenezer (1781-1849)—English poet, Chartist, the son of an iron master.—302.

Engels, Friedrich (1820-1895).—190, 257, 258.

F

Facey, Thomas Grant—British worker, painter, trade-unionist; Secretary of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—42, 301.

Fairbairn, Robert—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Falconnet—correspondent of the International in Switzerland.—92.

Fenili, F.—member of the Council of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the International.—61.

Ferrari, Guiseppe (1811-1876)—Italian philosopher and politician, took part in the national-liberation movement, opposed the policy of unifying Italy under the Savoy dynasty.—172.

Ferret (or *Terret*)—correspondent of the International in Pantin (suburb of Paris).—109, 111,

Fontana, Guiseppe (1840-1876)—participant in the 1848 Revolution in Italy; an émigré, one of the leaders of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-65), Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1864-65). —41, 42, 45, 48-51, 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, 65, 67, 72, 74, 87, 180.

Fontaine, Léon—Belgian journalist active participant in the democratic movement in Belgium; in 1862-65 publisher of the French edition of Herzen's *Kolokol* (*The Bell*); General Council's Corre-

sponding Secretary *pro tem.* for Belgium, delegate to the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—69, 81, 92, 125, 171, 203, 204.

Forey, Elie-Frédéric (1804-1872)—French marshal, Bonapartist; one of the participants in the coup d'état of December 2, 1851; Senator from 1859 on; in 1863 was appointed commander of the French expeditionary corps in Mexico.—168.

Fox, Peter (Peter Fox Andre) (d. 1869)—journalist, active in the British democratic and working-class movement; influenced by the Positivists; one of the leaders of the British National League for the Independence of Poland; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), from 1865 on the General Council's official press correspondent, General Secretary of the Council (September-November 1866), Corresponding Secretary for America (1866-67); one of the editors of *The Commonwealth* (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—41, 42, 44, 45, 48-51, 53, 55-58, 62, 64, 73-76, 78, 80, 82-87, 91, 92, 94-99, 101, 102, 104-06, 108-15, 119, 121, 129, 134-36, 138, 142, 144-48, 150-55, 156, 159, 163, 165-70, 172, 177, 179, 180, 182, 184, 187, 188, 190, 191, 196, 200, 201, 203, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 217, 220, 223, 224, 249, 266, 273, 292, 296, 332.

Francis—member of the General Council of the International (1865).—73.

Franklin, Benjamin (1706-1790)—American statesman and diplomat, bourgeois democrat, took part in the American War of Independence; eminent physicist and economist.—299.

Fribourg, E. E.—active figure in the French working-class movement, engraver, subsequently businessman; Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; one of the leaders of the International's Paris section; delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); in 1871 published his book *L'Association Internationale des Travailleurs* which was hostile to the International and the Paris Commune.—74, 75, 76, 78, 81, 83, 85, 86, 91, 92, 93, 114, 147, 183, 184, 196, 203, 212, 231-35, 237, 239, 241, 244, 248, 264, 265, 318, 320-21, 322.

G

Gardner, William—Englishman, member of the General Coun-

cil of the International (1865-67, 1869).—122, 123, 174, 315.

Garibaldi, Guiseppe (1807-1882)—Italian revolutionary, democrat, leader of the Italian national-liberation movement; in 1848 lead a volunteer corps, fought on the side of the Piedmont army in the war against Austria; organised the defence of the Roman Republic in April-June 1849; in the 1850s and 1860s headed the struggle of the Italian people for national liberation and the unification of Italy.—204.

Garow, François—member of the International, member of the French branch in London; cabinet-maker.—339.

Geninazzi, G.—member of the Council of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the International.—61.

Gérard, Balthasar (1558-1584)—fanatic Catholic who in 1584 assassinated Prince William of Orange leader of the Netherland bourgeois revolution of the sixteenth century.—294.

Gintini—member of the Council of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the International.—61.

Girardin, Emile de (1806-1881)—French bourgeois publicist and politician, notorious for his unscrupulousness in politics.—101.

Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-1898)—British statesman, Tory, later Peelite, in the latter half of the nineteenth century one of the leaders of the Liberal Party; Chancellor of the Exchequer (1852-55 and 1859-66) and Prime Minister (1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-94).—277-80, 327-29, 332.

Gocht—member of the International, President of the London German Workers' Educational Association, 1865.—63.

Graham, David—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Gray, Rodger, W.—British worker, mason, President of the Board of Directors of *The Bee-Hive* Industrial Newspaper Company; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65), member of the Universal League for the Welfare of

the Industrious Classes and of the Reform League.—119.

Grey, George (1799-1882)—British statesman, Whig, Home Secretary (1846-52, 1855-58, 1861-66), Colonial Secretary (1854-55).—166-67, 168, 327, 329, 330, 333.

Grossmith, John—member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland and of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65).—43, 53.

Guyon, Louis—French clerk, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1866 was tried in the Blanquist secret society case, known as "L'affaire de la Renaissance".—202.

H

Hailstone, Thomas—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Hales, John (b. 1839)—British worker, weaver, trade-union leader, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72) and its Secretary (1871-72); member of the Reform League, the Land and Labour League; delegate to the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; at the beginning of 1872 headed the reformist wing of the British Federal Council; waged a struggle against Marx seeking to gain leadership of the International in Britain.—162, 176, 177, 187, 188, 192, 194, 201, 207, 224, 226, 315, 339.

Hallam, Thomas—British trade-unionist; Secretary of the Shoemakers' Society in Birmingham; member of the International.—142.

Hansen, N. P.—member of the General Council of the International (December 1864-67), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865), Correspoding Secretary for Denmark (1866), and for Denmark and Holland (1867).—53, 55, 174, 177, 194, 243, 293.

Harris, George—active figure in the British working-class movement, follower of the social-reformist views of the Chartist Bronterre O'Brien; member of the General Council of the International (1869-72), Financial Secretary of the Council (1870-71).—207.

Harrison, Frederick (1831-1923)—English jurist and historian, bourgeois radical, Positivist, active participant in

the democratic movement of the 1860s; member of the International.—58, 62.

Harry, W.—member of the General Council of the International (1866).—195, 197.

Hartwell, Robert (born c. 1812)—printer, former Chartist, one of the editors of *The Bee-Hive*; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); was on the Reform League's Executive Committee; Secretary of the London Working Men's Union.—40, 45, 53, 81.

Harvey, F.—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—195, 197.

Haufe, Albert F.—German tailor, living in London, member of the General Council of the International (1866).—187, 191, 194, 226, 336.

Hennessy, John Pope (1834-1891)—Irish conservative M.P., in the early 1860s proposed carrying out minor reforms in Ireland.—166, 327, 332.

Holtorp, Emile—Polish émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1864-65), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865); in 1866 joined the International Republican Committee set up by Mazzini.—37, 41, 44, 45, 49, 51, 53, 54, 64, 65, 78, 87, 107, 108, 118, 133, 134, 187, 248, 296, 298.

Holyoake, Austin (d. 1874)—participant in the British democratic movement; member of the General Council of International (1864).—45.

Hooson, Edward—active in the co-operative movement of Manchester, took part in the Reform Movement in England.—271.

Howell, George (1833-1910)—British worker, mason, former Chartist; one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, Secretary of the London Trades Council (1861-62); participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), participant in the London Conference (1865) of the International; Secretary of the Reform League and of the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trades Union Congress (1871-75).—49, 50, 53, 72, 75, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 90, 96, 102, 106, 120, 122, 125, 126, 129, 144, 154, 167; 169; 189, 210, 231, 235, 239, 248, 296, 315, 322.

Hraybe (or *Rhabje*)—Hungarian émigré in London; President of the London German Work-

ers' Educational Association (1866); member of the General Council of the International (1865-66); in September 1866, in connection with his departure for Hungary, was empowered to act there on behalf of the International Working Men's Association. —123, 126, 177, 179, 191.

Humbert—French employee, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

J

Jafery—on March 28, 1865 was nominated to the General Council but was not elected. —86.

Janks, A.—member of the General Council of the International (1865).—295.

Jayet, Joseph—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—195, 197.

Jebb, Joshua (1793-1863)—British army officer, Chief Inspector of convict prisons in Britain; wrote several books on the prison system. —329.

Jenkins, John—Englishman, member of the International. —177.

Jeunesse, Antony—French student, Blanquist; took part in the French republican movement in the 1860s.—202.

Johnson, Andrew (1808-1875)—American statesman, Democrat, Governor of Tennessee (1853-57 and 1862-65), Senator (1858-62), supporter of the North in the American Civil War, Vice-President (1864) and President of the United States (1865-69), pursued a policy of agreement with the Southern planters. —96, 97, 101, 294, 295.

Johnson, H.—Englishman, member of the General Council of the International (1865-67).—132, 315.

Jones, Ernest Charles (1819-1869)—outstanding figure in the British working-class movement, proletarian poet and publicist; one of the leaders of revolutionary Chartism; friend of Marx and Engels.—72, 92, 129, 241, 271; 307.

Jourdain, Gustave—French petty-bourgeois democrat, after the 1848 Revolution, an émigré in London; joined a group of petty-bourgeois republicans, followers of Felix Pyat; member of the General Council of the International (1864).—36, 53.

Julien—French worker, painter on glass, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Jung, Hermann (1830-1901)—prominent figure in the Inter-

national and Swiss working-class movement, watchmaker, an émigré in London; member of the General Council of the International and Corresponding Secretary for Switzerland (November 1864-72), Treasurer of the General Council (1871-72), Vice-Chairman of the London Conference (1865), Chairman of the Geneva (1866), Brussels (1868 and Basle (1869) congresses and of the London Conference (1871) of the International; member of the British Federal Council; prior to the Hague Congress of 1872 pursued Marx's line in the International, later joined the reformist leaders of the British trade unions.—45, 49, 50, 54, 56, 62, 64-66, 69; 72, 75, 78, 81-83, 85, 86-89, 91, 92, 93-96, 99, 100, 102, 104, 106-110, 112, 113, 116, 118, 120, 121, 123-127, 129, 130, 137, 142, 144, 147-49, 153-56, 159-82, 184, 185, 187-89, 191, 193, 194, 196-99, 203, 204, 208; 210 214-16, 219, 220, 222, 225, 227, 231, 233, 236, 239, 241, 242, 245, 250, 265, 270, 271, 273, 274, 293, 296, 298, 301, 317, 326, 339.

K

Kaub, Karl (William?)—German worker, an émigré in London, after 1865, in Paris; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65), participant in the London Conference of 1865.—45, 49, 50, 53, 69, 78, 80, 82, 87, 88, 90, 103, 108, 113, 123, 126, 137, 167, 295, 301.

Kellermann, Albert—French post-office clerk, Blanquist, member of the French republican movement in the 1860s.—202.

Kelly, R.—owned of a printing house in London; member of the International.—137, 177.

Kessler, O. P.—member of the International, member of the Eintracht—a branch of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—63.

Klimosch, H.—member of the General Council of the International (1865).—82, 86, 295.

Klinker, A.—member of the International, member of the Teutonia—a branch of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—63.

Konter, H.—member of the International, member of the Teutonia—a branch of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—63.

Kriess—conductor of the choir of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—307.

Krynski, Jan (John) (1811-1890)—Polish revolutionary, an émigré in London; member of

the General Council of the International (1865-67); Secretary of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—134, 137.

L

Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911)—prominent figure in the International and French working-class movement, outstanding propagator of Marxism; member of the French branch in London where he fought for the line of the General Council; member of the General Council of the International, Corresponding Secretary for Spain (1866-69); helped to organise the International's sections in France (1869-70), Spain and Portugal (1871-72), delegate to the Hague Congress (1872); one of the founders of the Workers' Party in France; disciple and associate of Marx and Engels.—168, 169, 174, 177, 179, 180, 183-85, 194, 195, 197-201, 204, 207, 210, 214, 215, 224.

Lake, George—British worker, joiner; trade-unionist, member of the General Council of the International (1864) and of the Reform League.—48, 53.

Lama, Domenico—President of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65).—41, 42, 49, 51, 53, 54, 61, 87.

Landowski, Jean Louis—French bookseller's clerk, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1866 was tried in the Blanquist secret society case, known as "L'affaire de la Renaissance".—202.

Lardaux, François David (1814-1866)—French petty-bourgeois democrat, participant in the 1848 Revolution in France; an émigré in London; owner of a small restaurant in Soho, meeting place of émigrés; member of the International.—129.

Lassalle, Ferdinand (1825-1864)—German petty-bourgeois publicist, lawyer; in 1848-49 took part in the democratic movement of Rhenish Province; early in the 1860s joined the working-class movement, one of the founders of the General Association of German Workers (1863); supported the policy of Germany's unification "from above", under the hegemony of Prussia; laid the beginning of the opportunist trend in the German working-class movement.—256-58.

Lassassie, F.—French hairdresser, an émigré in London; member of the General

Council of the International (1865-68), participant in the London Conference of 1865, member of the French branch in London where he advocated the General Council's policy.—91, 93, 97, 244, 247, 296, 339.

Lavallée, Gaetan—French student. Blanquist, took part in the French republican movement in the 1860s.—202.

Lawrence, Mathew—British trade-unionist, President of the Operative Tailors' Protective Association in London; member of the General Council of the International (1866-68), delegate to the Geneva Congress (1866) of the International.—197, 199, 209, 216, 226, 227.

Lefebvre (Lefèbre), Emile—correspondent of the International in Neufchâteau (France).—93, 96, 99, 103, 106, 107, 121, 161.

Lefort, Henri (1835-1917)—French lawyer, journalist, bourgeois republican, member of *L'Association's* Editorial Board; took part in the preparations for the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; in March 1865 left the International.—71, 74, 76-81, 83, 85, 87, 96, 264-66, 269, 270, 318.

Le Lubez, Victor (born c. 1834)—French émigré in London, was connected with bourgeois-republican and radical elements in France and Britain; took part in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-66), Corresponding Secretary for France (1864-65), participant in the London Conference of 1865; expelled from the General Council by the Geneva Congress (1866) for intrigue and slander.—35-44, 47-50, 53-58, 62-66, 69-89, 93, 95, 96, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 110, 118-22, 128, 130, 131, 134-37, 148, 149, 150, 152, 154, 155, 156, 167, 169, 171, 172, 174, 176-80, 185, 192, 194, 196, 201, 210, 215, 216, 219, 224, 226, 239, 243, 245-48, 264-66, 269, 273, 293, 301, 315, 317, 318, 339.

Le Maître, Frédéric—French émigré, owner of a small printshop in London.—214, 224.

Lemoine, E.—French student, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; came out against the police tyranny of the Second Empire.—202.

Leno, John Bredford (b. 1826)—British worker, printer, Chartist, later trade-unionist; member of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes and

of the Reform League; took part in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), participant in the London Conference (1865); publisher of *The Workman's Advocate* (1865-66).—40, 118, 120, 124, 182, 199, 244, 315.

Leroux, Jules—French printer, republican, after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated to England; member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-March 1865); member of the French branch in London; brother of Pierre Leroux.—36, 49, 53, 80.

Leroux, Pierre (1797-1871)—French publicist, Utopian socialist, representative of Christian socialism; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated to England.—199.

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim (1729-1781)—famous German dramatist, critic and philosopher, one of the prominent Enlighteners of the eighteenth century.—257.

Lessner, Friedrich (1825-1910)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, tailor; member of the Communist League; participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; from 1856 on, an émigré in London; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association and of the General Council of the International (November 1864-72); delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868), Basle (1869) and Hague (1872) congresses of the International; member of the British Federal Council; actively fought for Marx's line in the International; one of the founders of the British Independent Labour Party; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—43, 49, 51, 53, 69, 74, 82, 86, 91, 93, 97, 107, 126, 129, 134, 138, 146, 159, 165-67, 169, 173, 177, 179, 185-87, 191, 197, 199, 203, 207, 226, 227, 243, 273, 295, 301, 339.

Leverson, Montegue—British radical, member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; participant in the Polish meeting of March 1, 1865, in London.—292.

Levraud, Léonce—French medical student, Blanquist, signed the second apeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1866 was tried in the Blanquist secret society case, known as "L'affaire de la Renaissance".—202.

Lewis, Leon—American journalist; in 1865, was elected a member of the General Council and corresponding secre-

tary for America, did not take part in the work of the Council.—98, 101, 103-06, 132, 187, 298.

Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement, participant in the Revolution of 1848-49; member of the Communist League; member of the First International, active fighter against Lassalleanism and for the principles of the International in the German working-class movement; delegate to the Basle (1869) Congress of the International; from 1867 on, deputy of the Reichstag; one of the founders and leaders of German Social-Democracy; editor of *Der Volksstaat* (1869-76); during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the Paris Commune came out against the predatory plans of the Prussian Junkers and the bourgeoisie and in defence of the Paris Commune; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—161, 251, 252, 255, 258, 260.

Lilley—190, 191.

Limousin, Antoine—French worker, lace-maker, active in the French co-operative movement, Proudhonist; took part in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; one of the leaders of the Paris section of the International till the middle of 1865, member of the International up to 1866; father of Charles Limousin.—78, 265.

Limousin, Charles—French working-class leader, printer, later, journalist; Secretary of the Board of *L'Association;* one of the editors of *La Tribune Ouvrière;* delegate to the London Conference (1865) of the International; in 1870 member of the Paris Federal Council; active in the co-operative movement; published several journals.—147, 231, 235, 241, 244, 322, 323.

Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865)—American statesman, one of the founders of the Republican Party, President of the United States (1861-65); during the Civil War, under pressure of the masses, in 1862 abandoned all attempts to achieve a compromise with the slave-owners and introduced bourgeois-democratic changes and revolutionary methods of warfare; assassinated in April 1865 by an agent of the slave-owners.—50, 53, 57, 60, 68, 69, 94, 96, 98, 294, 295.

Lochner, Georg (born c. 1824)—German worker, joiner, active in the German working-class movement; member of the Communist League and of the London German

Workers' Educational Association; member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-67 and 1871-72), delegate to the International's London conferences of 1865 and 1871; friend and follower of Marx and Engels.—45, 53, 295.

Loeber, L.—member of the International, member of the Eintracht—a branch of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—63.

Lofthouse, David—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Long—member of the International and of the Hand-in-Hand Coopers' Society in London.—222.

Longmaid, John—participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League. —35, 36, 47, 53, 89, 90, 120, 296, 315.

Longuet, Charles (1833-1903)—French journalist, one of the leaders of the French working-class movement, Proudhonist; member of the French branch in London where he fought for the General Council's line, member of the General Council of the International (1866-67 and 1871-72), Corresponding Secretary for Belgium, delegate to the Lausanne (1867) and Brussels (1868) congresses, the London Conference (1871) and the Hague Congress (1872) of the International; member of the Paris Commune, after the defeat of the Paris Commune emigrated to England; subsequently joined the opportunist wing in the socialist movement in France. —155, 159, 168, 180, 182; 210, 273.

Lorenz, A.—member of the International, member of the Teutonia—a branch of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—63.

Louis Philippe (1773-1850)—King of France (1830-48).—281.

Luby—wife of Clarke Luby, one of the leaders of the Irish national-liberation movement.—151, 211-12.

Lucraft, Benjamin (1809-1897) —British worker, furniture-maker, one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), delegate

of the Brussels (1868) and the Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address "The Civil War in France" and left the International.—53, 64, 94, 101, 104, 174, 295, 315.

M

McColman, John—correspondent of the International in Glasgow.—121, 122, 128-29.

McDonald, Robert—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

McLeod, Alexander—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Madiot—correspondent of the International in Rennes (France).—175.

Manteuffel, Otto Theodor, Baron (1805-1882)—Prussian statesman, representative of the Junker bureaucracy; Home Minister (1848-50), Prime Minister and Foreign Minister (1850-58).—252.

Mantz, Edwin Schelly—member of the General Council of the International (1865), Secretary of the Industrial Newspaper Company.—127, 128, 300, 301, 304.

Marcheval—French weaver, International's Corresponding Secretary for Vienne (France) section founded in 1866.—224.

Marco—worker, fan-maker, member of the International, member of the French branch in London.—339.

Martin, Henri (1810-1883)—French historian and politician; member of the International Working Men's Association from 1865 on.—138, 140, 141.

Marx, Karl (1818-1883)—35, 37, 42-51, 53, 56-58, 60, 61; 66-75, 78, 80, 89-93, 96, 97, 100-02, 104, 105, 109-12, 125, 128, 129, 131, 132, 134, 135, 142, 143, 145-50, 155, 156, 159-62, 164, 169, 171, 172, 177-80, 184, 186-89, 191, 192, 199, 200, 201, 203, 208, 209, 212, 214, 215, 217-20, 224, 231, 233-35, 239-41, 245, 250, 252, 256, 258, 263-65, 269, 271-73, 296, 297, 301, 319, 336.

Massman, W.—member of the General Council of the International (1866), re-elected to

the Council (1866-67) by the Geneva Congress; in the autumn of 1866 left for Germany where he was instructed to carry on activities in the interests of the International Working Men's Association.—208, 226.

Maurice, Zévy—tailor, member of the General Council of the International (1866-72), Corresponding Secretary for Hungary (1870-71)—177, 179, 184, 197, 199, 206, 339 (?).

Mazzini, Guiseppe (1805-1872)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat, one of the leaders of the Italian national-liberation movement headed the Provisional Government of the Roman Republic (1849); one of the organisers of the Central Committee of European Democracy in London (1850); when the International was founded in 1864, tried to bring it under his influence.—169, 171, 172, 204, 319.

Measor—Deputy Governor of the Chatham prison (England).—330.

Merriman—member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-67).—43, 118.

Morgan, W.—British worker, shoemaker, active in the British working-class movement, member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-68) and of the Reform League.—43, 46, 49, 50, 53, 65, 66, 72, 75, 77, 80, 87, 89, 98, 126, 127, 131, 137, 142 147, 296, 301, 315, 322.

Morrissot—Frenchman, member of the General Council of the International (1864).—36, 53.

Mulchinock, G.—member of the International, secretary of the Greenwich and Deptford branch of the International Working Men's Association.—95.

Murphy (O'Leary)—Irish Fenian, arrested in 1864 for carrying on propaganda among the soldiers of the King's army in Ireland, sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.—211.

N

Napoleon III (Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte) (1808-1873)—nephew of Napoleon I; President of the Second Empire (1848-51); Emperor of the French (1852-70).—255.

Nero, Claudius (37-68)—Roman Emperor (54-68).—281.

Nicholas I (1796-1855)—Russian Emperor (1825-55).—136.

Nieass, John D.—British worker, plasterer; member of the London Trades Council, the British National League for

the Independence of Poland, and of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65) and of the Reform League.—53, 296, 301, 315.

Niemann—French sculptor, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Noble, H. A.—British trade-unionist, member of the Executive Committee of the Society of Masons and Bricklayers, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864).—36.

Nusperli, M. G.—member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-65), in October 1864 was elected corresponding secretary for Switzerland, in January 1865 became a member of the Greenwich and Deptford branch of the International.—41, 43, 53, 65.

O

Oborski, Louis (1787-1873)—Polish colonel, took part in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31, later emigrated to England; a leading member of the Society of Fraternal Democrats; commander of a division in Baden revolutionary army (1849); member of the General Council of the International (1865-67); President of the Central London Section of the United Polish Exiles.—132, 134.

Odger, George (1820-1877)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade unions, shoemaker, took part in founding the London Trades Council and was its Secretary in 1862-72; member of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, of the Land and Labour League, and the Labour Representation League; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-71), its President (1864-67); took part in the London Conference (1865) and the Geneva Congress (1866); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; during the Reform Movement in England came to an agreement with the bourgeoisie, in 1871 refused to sign the General Council's address "The Civil War in France" and left the Council.—35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 50, 53, 60, 65, 67, 70, 72, 75, 79,

80, 86, 93, 95, 97, 99-108, 113, 114, 121-27, 128, 129, 133, 135, 144, 147, 148, 151, 154, 156, 161, 168, 169, 178, 179, 180, 195, 199, 209, 225, 231, 236, 242, 245, 247, 296, 298, 300, 301, 307, 308, 315, 322, 334.

O'Donovan Rossa—wife of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa (1831-1915), one of the leaders of the Irish national-liberation movement; in 1865-66 she organised the collection of funds for the families of the Irish state prisoners; author of the appeal to the women of Ireland published, by decision of the General Council of the International, in *The Workman's Advocate*, January 6, 1866.—151, 159, 167, 212, 273, 332.

O'Leary. See *Murphy.*

Ollivier, Emile (1825-1913)—French bourgeois politician, republican, and subsequently a Bonapartist, head of the French Cabinet of Ministers (January-August 1870).—101.

Orsini, Cesare—Italian political emigrant; member of the General Council of the International (1866-67), propagated the ideas of the International in the U.S.A.; brother of Felice Orsini.—172, 173.

Orsini, Felice (1819-1858)—Italian revolutionary, bourgeois democrat and republican, fought for the national liberation and unification of Italy; executed for attempt to assassinate Napoleon III.—97.

Ortiga—member of the General Council of the International (1866-67).—165, 167.

Osborne, John—British worker, plasterer, trade-unionist, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67); was active in the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes, the Reform League, the Land and Labour League, and in the Labour Representation League.—53, 295, 315.

Otto, L. See *Breitschwert, Otto.*

Owen, Robert (1771-1858)—famous British Utopian Socialist.—285.

P

Pakington, John Somerset (1799-1880)—British statesman, Tory, Secretary of State for War and Colonies (1852), First Lord of the Admiralty (1858-59 and 1866-67), and Secretary for War (1867-68).—330.

Palmerston, Henry John Temple, Viscount (1784-1865)—British statesman, Tory at the

beginning of his career, from 1830 on, one of the Whig leaders relying on the Right-wing elements of that party, Foreign Secretary (1830-34, 1835-41 and 1846-51), Home Secretary (1852-55) and Prime Minister (1855-58 and 1859-65).—286.

Patis, B.—British worker, member of the London association of wire workers.—181.

Paz—general of the Mexican army during Mexico's struggle for independence (1863-67).—168.

Perchelet, Lucien—Frenchman, member of the General Council of the International (1865).—126, 127.

Petersen, Peter—member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-65).—51, 53, 295.

Pfänder, Karl (1818-1876)—one of the leaders of the German working-class movement, artist; an émigré in London from 1845 on; member of the London German Workers' Educational Association, the Central Committee of the Communist League, and of General Council of the International (November 1864-67 and 1870-72); friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—43, 53, 295.

Philip II (1527-1598)—King of Spain (1556-98).—294.

Pidgeon, W.—British worker, baker, trade-unionist, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864) and of the Reform League.—37, 53.

Poole—owner of a sewing shop in London.—174.

Potter, George (1832-1893)—British worker, carpenter, one of the reformist leaders of the trade-union movement; member of the London Trades Council and one of the leaders of the Amalgamated Union of Building Workers; founder, editor and publisher of *The Bee-Hive* where he pursued a policy of compromise with the liberal bourgeoisie.—125, 131.

Prior, John Damrel (b. 1840)—one of the reformist leaders of the British trade-union movement, member of the General Council of the International (1866), elected to the General Council also by the Geneva Congress for 1866-67; General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (1871-81); member of the Labour Representation League.—187, 191.

Prudhomme (born c. 1843)—correspondent of the International in Bordeaux (France).—183.

R

Ramsay, John—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Reaveley, Edward—British trade-unionist, member of the London Coachmakers' Friendly Society, represented this society in the General Council of the International (1867).—221.

Reynolds—member of the International, belonged to the Hand-in-Hand Coopers' Society.—222.

Richet, Nestor—French worker, shawl cleaner, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1866 was tried in the Blanquist secret society case, known as "L'affaire de la Renaissance".—202.

Rigault, Raoul-Georges-Adolphe (1846-1871)—Blanquist, medical student, publicist; active participant in the French republican movement in the late 1860s; signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866; member of the Paris Commune, from April 26, 1871 Procurator of the Commune, shot by the Versaillists on May 24, 1871.—202.

Russell, John, Earl (1792-1878)—British statesman, Whig leader, Prime Minister (1846-52 and 1856-66), Foreign Secretary (1852-53 and 1859-65).—327, 328, 332.

Rybczinski, F.—Polish émigré in London, member of the General Council of the International (1864).—41, 49, 51, 53.

S

St. Leonards. See *Sugden, Edward.*

Salvatella, Narcisse—member of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the General Council of the International (1865).—91, 93, 296.

Sassinari—42.

Savi, Philippo (*Francesco?*) *Bartholomeo* (d. 1865)—one of the leaders of the Italian national-liberation movement, follower of Mazzini, took part in Garibaldi's expedition in 1860; member of the Central Council of the Italian working men's associations; editor of *Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane*, central organ of these societies.—190.

Schantzenbach, Alexander—member of the General Council of the International (1864).—51, 53.

Schapper, Karl (1812-1870)—prominent figure in the German and international working-class movement; one of the leaders of the League of the Just; member of the Central Committee of the Communist League; took part in the Revolution of 1848-49; in 1850 one of the leaders of the sectarian-adventurist group during the split in the Communist League; in 1856 again drew close to Marx; member of the General Council of the International (1865); participant in the London Conference of 1865. —91, 93, 295.

Schettel, Adrien—French worker, mechanic, Left republican, took part in the 1848 Revolution; one of the organisers of the International's section in Lyons; delegate to the Geneva (1866) and Lausanne (1867) congresses of the International; was sentenced to imprisonment for taking part in the revolutionary events in Lyons in September 1870. —143, 223, 224.

Schily, Victor (1810-1875)—German democrat, lawyer, participant in the Baden rising of 1849; later emigrated to France; member of the International, helped the General Council to strengthen the International in Paris; took part in the London Conference of 1865.—74, 75, 79, 80, 84, 162, 231-34, 238, 240, 250, 264-66, 269, 323.

Schmelzer—member of the International; Treasurer of the London German Workers' Educational Association, 1865.—63.

Schulze-Delitzsch, Hermann (1808-1883)—German politician and vulgar economist, advocated the unification of Germany under the hegemony of Prussia, one of the founders of the National Union party; in the 1860s one of the Progressist leaders; sought to divert the workers from revolutionary struggle by organising co-operative societies.—253, 254, 259, 321.

Scott, John—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Sely—member of the International, secretary of the London Society of Compositors. —219.

Senior, Nassau William (1790-1864)—English vulgar economist, apologist of capitalism; opposed shortening of the working day.—284.

Seruzier, Paul—French student, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; came out against the police tyranny of the Second Empire.—202.

Setacci, C.—one of the leaders of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the General Council of the International (October 1864-65).—36, 48, 49, 53, 61, 87.

Seward, Frederick William (1830-1915)—American journalist and diplomat, son of William Henry Seward.—295.

Seward, William Henry (1801-1872)—American statesman, leader of the Right wing of the Republican Party, Senator, Governor of New York State (1839-43), nominated for presidency in the 1860 elections; Secretary of State (1861-69).—295.

Shakespeare, William (1564-1616)—great English poet and dramatist.—302-03.

Shearman, Charles—British trade-unionist, member of the Bricklayers' Executive Committee; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council in the International (1864-67).—194, 196, 315.

Shaw, Robert (d. 1869)—one of the leaders of the British working-class movement, painter, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-69), in which he took an active part, propagating the International's ideas in local trade-union organisations, Treasurer of the Council (1867-68), Corresponding Secretary for America (1867-69), delegate to the London Conference (1865) and the Brussels Congress (1868) of the International.—48, 53, 102, 125, 126, 141, 148, 162, 163, 165, 167, 168, 170, 172-75, 177-81, 191, 193, 194, 296, 315, 322, 339.

Side, Robert Henry—member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-66).—43, 315.

Smales, Thomas—member of the General Council of the International (1864).—51, 53.

Smith, Edward (c. 1818-1874)—consulting physician and medical officer of the Privy Council to Inquire into the Nourishment of the Poorer Labouring Classes.—278.

Solustri, F.—one of the leaders of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the General Council of the Interna-

tional (November 1864-65).—48, 53, 61, 87.

Sornet, Léon—French railwayman, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1866 was tried in the Blanquist secret society case, known as "L'affaire de la Renaissance".—202.

Stainsby, William D. —British trade-unionist, tailor participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-68); member of the executive committees of the Reform League and of the Labour Representation League.—53, 101, 296, 301, 315.

Stampa, Gaspare—active participant in the Italian national-liberation movement, follower of Mazzini; member of the Central Council of the Italian working men's associations, delegate to the Lausanne Congress of the International (1867); subsequently a Bakuninist.—189, 190.

Steel, George—resident of the English town of Bedlington, signed the appeal of the Paris students and the response appeal of the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war between Prussia and Austria in 1866.—203.

Stephenson, George (Stevenson) (1781-1848)—famous English inventor, the son of a miner, mechanic.—302.

Stockey, W.—member of the General Council of the International (1866).—214, 216.

Stumpf, Paul (c. 1827-1913)—active participant in the German working-class movement, in 1847 member of the German Working Men's Association in Brussels, member of the Communist League, took part in the Revolution of 1848-49 in Germany; member of the International, delegate to the Lausanne Congress (1867) of the International, member of the German Social-Democratic Labour Party.—193.

Sugden, Edward, Baron *St. Leonards* (1781-1875)—English lawyer and statesman, Tory.—163.

T

Talandier, Alfred (1822-1890)—French petty-bourgeois democrat, journalist; took part in the Revolution of 1848 in France; after the coup d'état of 1851 emigrated to London, friend of Alexander Herzen member of the General Council of the International (1864); member of the Chamber of Deputies (1876-80, 1881-85).—41, 45, 53.

Talbot, Edouard—French physician, in 1848 founded a benefit co-operative society in Caen, closed down by Napoleon III's government in 1852; in 1865 organised a section of the International in Caen; correspondent of the International in that town; in February 1871 editor of *Franc-Parleur*, published in Caen; was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for his articles.—109,160, 163, 237, 273.

Taylor, John Robert—one of the leaders of the British democratic movement, printer, took an active part in the work of the British National League for the Independence of Poland, in the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes, and in the Reform League; on October 11, 1864 was elected to the General Council of the International but withdrew from it on October 18 following his unsuccessful attempt to merge the International Working Men's Association with the Universal League.—41, 42.

Therry, Rodger (1800-1874)—English lawyer and colonial official, served in New South Wales (Australia) from 1829 to 1859; author of *Reminiscences of Thirty Years' Residence in New South Wales and Victoria* published in 1863.—330.

Todd—British trade-unionist, Secretary of the London Coachmakers' Friendly Society.—221.

Tolain, Henri Louis (1828-1897)—French worker, engraver, Right-wing Proudhonist; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; one of the leaders of the International's Paris section; delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866), Lausanne (1867), Brussels (1868) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; after September 4, 1870, deputy of the National Assembly; during the Paris Commune went over to the side of the Versaillists; in 1871 was expelled from the International.—67, 71-73, 75, 76, 78, 80, 81, 193, 203, 231, 232, 234, 237, 240, 241, 244, 245, 248, 249, 266, 307, 318, 320, 322.

Toutain, Léon—clerk on a notary office in Condé-sur-Noireau (France); correspondent of the International in that town.—143.

Trani (or *Traini*), *Giacomo (James)*—active participant in the Italian national-liberation movement, took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Italy, follower of Garibaldi; emigrated to London, where he became a small merchant; member of the General Council of the International (1866-

67), Corresponding Secretary for Italy (1866).—177, 179, 181, 182, 203, 204.

Tremblay—French merchant, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Tremenheere, Hugh Seymour (1804-1893)—British official and publicist, member of various government commissions investigating labour conditions.—280.

Trimlett—British trade-unionist, Treasurer of the Trade Unions' Manhood Suffrage and Vote by Ballot Association; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International.—37.

Tripp—129.

Turff, Henry—British trade-unionist, one of the leaders of the London branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society; member of the General Council of the International (1865); member of the Board of Directors of the Industrial Newspaper Company.—301.

U

Ure, Andrew (1778-1857)—English chemist, vulgar economist, author of several works on industrial economics.—284.

V

Vaccansi, A.—Treasurer of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the International.—61.

Valltier, A.—Frenchman, member of the General Council of the International (1865).—89, 91, 296.

Van Hofen, P.—member of the International; Secretary of the London German Workers' Educational Association in 1865.—63.

Varlin, Louis Eugène (1839-1871)—prominent figure in the French working-class movement, bookbinder, Left-wing Proudhonist; one of the International's leaders in France, delegate to the London Conference (1865), the Geneva (1866) and Basle (1869) congresses of the International; member of the Central Committee of the National Guard, member of the Paris Commune; shot by the Versaillists on May 28, 1871.—231, 322.

Vasbenter, Louis—French democrat, in 1850 one of the editors of *Voix du Peuple, Peuple* and other Proudhonist

papers; an émigré in London, was close to Herzen's family; on October 5, 1864 was elected a member of the General Council but did not take part in its work; subsequently emigrated to America.—36.

Velati—member of the Council of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); member of the International.—61.

Verlière, Alfred—*Blanquist*, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1867 convicted by the French court for opposition to the Catholic Church. —202.

Vésinier, Pierre (1826-1902)—French petty-bourgeois publicist, anti-Bonapartist, émigré; one of the organisers of the French branch in London, participant in the London Conference of the International in 1865; conducted a slanderous campaign against the General Council and was expelled from the International by decision of the Brussels Congress of 1868; member of the Paris Commune, after the defeat of the Commune published the newspaper *Fédération* in London; opposed Marx and the General Council.—128, 130, 155, 156, 165, 168, 169, 170, 172, 210, 238, 243, 244, 248, 249, 317, 319, 323, 325.

Villeneuve, Henri—French student, Blanquist, signed the second appeal of the youth of France in connection with the threat of war in 1866; in 1866 was tried in the Blanquist secret society case, known as "L'affaire de la Renaissance".—202.

Vinçard, Pierre Denis (1820-1882)—French worker publicist, participan in the Revolution of 1848, member of the Luxemburg Commission; active member of the French co-operative movement; wrote several works on the condition of the working class; member of the International.—78, 96, 265, 269.

Vogt, W.—member of the International, member of the Eintracht—a branch of the London German Workers' Educational Association.—63.

W

Waguenay (or *Vaganey*), *Jean Louis* (born c. 1833)—French weaver, treasurer of the International's Vienne (France) section founded in 1866.—224.

Waddington, H.—Home Office official.—334.

Walton, Alfred (b. 1816)—active participant in the British democratic movement, social-

ist, architect; member of the Reform League; President of the National Reform League; member of the General Council of the International (1867-70), delegate to the Lausanne Congress; author of *History of the Landed Tenures of Great Britain and Ireland*.—85, 119, 125, 126.

Wartelen—French worker, painter on glass, signed the second appeal of the youth of France to the working men of all countries in connection with the threat of war in 1866.—202.

Werecki, I. M.—Polish émigré in London, democrat, member of the General Council of the International (1865-67).—134, 137, 160, 177, 274.

Weston, John—British worker, capenter, subsequently manufacturer, Owenist, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-72), delegate to the London Conference of 1865; member of the British Federal Council; member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League; one of the leaders of the Land and Labour League. —35, 38, 39-42, 44, 46; 47, 49-51, 53, 57, 72, 76, 80, 81, 87, 88, 90, 92, 94-98, 100, 101, 105, 109-12, 114, 118, 122-24, 126, 128-30, 132, 151, 156, 162, 164, 165, 167, 169, 179, 180, 190, 194, 195, 198, 200, 209, 210, 222, 226, 231, 235, 239, 241, 246, 249, 295, 301, 315, 339.

Weydemeyer, Joseph (1818-1866)—leading figure in the German and American working-class movement; member of the Communist League; took part in the 1848-49 Revolution in Germany and in the American Civil War on the side of the North; laid the beginning of the propaganda of Marxism in the U.S.A.; after the foundation of the International propagated its programme among the workers of St. Louis; friend and associate of Marx and Engels.—66.

Wheeler, George William—active in the British working-class movement, participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67), Treasurer of the Council (1864-65, 1865-67), delegate to the London Conference of the International (1865); member of the Executive Committee of the Reform League.—36,40-44, 48-50, 53, 54, 57, 65, 69-71, 74, 78, 79, 83, 84, 92, 97, 100, 106, 107, 121, 123, 126-28, 142, 144, 160, 181, 182, 186, 187, 207, 244, 247, 273, 274, 296, 298, 300, 315, 322.

Whitlock, J.—British trade-unionist; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); Financial Secretary of the General Council; member of the Reform League.—35-37, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46-48, 53-56, 63-65, 67, 69, 70, 73, 74, 77-80, 82, 83, 86-88, 90, 92, 101, 102, 109, 110, 118, 121, 296.

Wiliam I (1797-1888)—Prince of Prussia, Prince-Regent (1858-61), King of Prussia (1861-88), German Emperor (1871-88).—252-53.

Williams, Hopkin—British worker, joiner, member of the General Council of the International (November 1864-68); took part in the Reform Movement in England.—51, 165, 177, 315, 339.

Wolff—member of the General Council of the International (1864-65).—41, 53, 87.

Wolff, Luigi (Louis)—Italian major, follower of Mazzini, member of the Association of Mutual Progress (Mazzini organisation of Italian workers in London); participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-65); participant in the London Conference of 1865; in 1871 was exposed as an agent of the Bonapartist police.—36-38, 40-42, 53, 74, 77, 79, 80, 108, 109, 169, 171, 172, 177-80, 318, 322.

Wood, Joshua—48.

Worley, William—British worker, printer, member of the British League for the Independence of Poland and of the Universal League for the Welfare of the Industrious Classes; participant in the inaugural meeting of September 28, 1864, held in St. Martin's Hall; member of the General Council of the International (1864-67); member of the Reform League.—36, 42, 44, 53, 57, 103, 296, 301, 315.

Y

Yarrow, F. J.—British worker, cabinet-maker, trade-unionist, member of the General Council of the International (1866-68, 1872).—199, 206, 209, 214-16, 222, 224, 226.

Z

Zabicki, Anton (c. 1810-1871?)—one of the leaders of the Polish national-liberation movement, democrat; compositor; participant in the Polish insurrection of 1830-31 and the Hungarian Revolution of

1848-49; from 1851 on, an émigré in England, one of the leaders of the Democratic Association in London; from 1863 on, published *Gtos Wolny*; Secretary of the Polish National Committee; member of the General Council of the International (1866-71), Corresponding Secretary for Poland (1866-71).—87, 134, 137.

INDEX OF PERIODICALS

L'Association (Paris, Brussels)—164, 323.

The Bee-Hive Newspaper (London)—45, 47, 48, 60, 125, 126, 131, 171, 296.

The Commonwealth (London)—168, 169, 194, 201, 207, 209, 316, 334, 339.

Cork Daily Herald—151.

Le Courrier Français (Paris)—196, 201, 203, 212, 226, 339.

Le Courrier International (London)—136, 143, 351.

The Daily News (London)—293.

L'Echo de Verviers—150, 152, 155, 165, 169, 170, 174, 180, 317-19, 321-26.

L'Espiègle (Brussels)—168.

Il Giornale delle Associazioni Operaie Italiane (Genoa)—189, 190.

La Gironde (Bordeaux)—190.

The International Courier (London)—351.

International Journal. See *Ironmoulders' International Journal.*

The Irishman (Dublin)—151.

Ironmoulders' International Journal (Philadelphia)—196.

Journal de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs (Geneva)—150, 152, 164, 326.

Journal de Verviers. See *L'Echo de Verviers.*

The Lancet (London)—166.

The Manchester Guardian—98.

The Miner and Artisan (St. Louis)—183.

The Miner and Workman's Advocate (London)—114, 300, 301-02, 304.

The Morning Advertiser (London)—168.

The Morning Star (London)—45.

Neue Rheinische Zeitung. Organ der Demokratie (Cologne)—251, 252 253, 258.

New York Daily Tribune—97.

Nordstern (Hamburg)—72.

Oberrheinischer Courier—336.

El Obrero (Barcelona, Palma)—164.

The Pall Mall Gazette (London)—166, 327.

La Rive Gauche (Paris, Brussels)—196, 200, 204, 207.

Le Siècle (Paris)—138.

Der Social-Demokrat (Berlin)—75, 85, 161, 258, 287.

St. Louis Daily Press—69.

The Times (London)—102, 206.

La Tribune Ouvrière (Paris, Brussels)—107, 120.

La Tribune du Peuple (Brussels)—155, 161.

La Voix de l'Avenir (La Chaux-de-Fonds)—161, 326.

Der Vorbote (Geneva)—161, 189, 193, 220, 326, 351.

Der weiße Adler (Zurich)—292, 293.

The Workman's Advocate (London)—133, 137, 139, 146, 150, 151, 153, 159, 161, 238-39, 273, 274, 301-04, 312, 316, 320, 326.

INDEX OF ADDRESSES AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

A

Alessandria—74.
Aubonne—174.

B

Barcelona—164.
Basle—147, 161.
Bedford Street, Strand. See *London.*
Bedlington, town, England—202, 203.
Belgium—69, 102, 116, 127, 131, 132, 136, 142, 150, 210, 231, 233, 234, 236, 238, 240, 242, 289, 305, 320, 323, 335, 336.
Belleville. See *Paris.*
Bell Inn, Old Bailey. See *London.*
Berkshire—279.
Berlin—143, 254, 258, 259.
Bern, canton, Switzerland—189.
Berwick Street. See *London.*
Biel. See *Bienne.*
Bienne (*Biel*), town, Switzerland—189, 324.
Birmingham—85, 141, 142, 194.
Second Court, Latimer Street 142.
Blackheath. See *London.*
Bordeaux—180, 183, 224.
Bouverie Street, Fleet Street. See *London.*
Brescia—74.
Brussels—115, 171, 203, 242.

C

Caen, town, France—109, 121, 160, 163, 232, 237, 273, 320, 322.
Calvados, department, France—143, 147, 160, 274.
Cambridge Hall, Newman Street. See *London.*
Caucasus—287.
Charles Street, Northampton Square, Clerkenwell. See *London.*
Chaux-de-Fonds, See La Chaux de-Fonds.
Chelsea. See *London.*
Cheltenham—194.
Cherbourg—125.
Cheshire—278.
City. See *London.*
Cleveland Hall. See *London.*
Commercial Road. See *London.*
Condé-sur-Noireau—143, 147, 155.
Coventry—176, 177.
Elephant and Castle, Hill Fields—176.

Cross Street. See *Manchester.*
Crown Public House, Hedden Court, Regent Street. See *London.*

D

Darlington, town, England—192.
Deptford. See *London.*
Dewsbury, town, England—194.
Drury Lane. See *London.*

E

Eastbourne—226.
Edinburgh—186, 194, 336.
Elbeuf—232.
Elephant and Castle, Hill Fields. See *Coventry.*
Emsdorf—174.
England. See *Great Britain.*
Europe—52-55, 63, 115, 117, 136, 183, 200, 205, 206, 216, 281, 282, 287, 288-90, 292, 305, 311, 325, 337, 341, 350.

F

Fleurieux-sur-Saône—208.
France—56, 61-63, 78, 81, 112, 116, 121, 122, 124, 132, 136, 137, 143, 163, 171, 176, 184, 193, 201, 203, 232, 234, 236, 240, 246, 248, 251, 286, 305, 313, 319-23, 335, 336, 350.
Freemasons Arms. See *London.*

G

Galicia—134.
Geneva—72, 83, 92, 98, 107, 147, 164, 189, 193, 209, 214, 233, 237, 239, 240, 242, 244, 245, 320, 321, 324.
Genoa—189, 190, 197.
Germany—60, 63, 94, 129, 142, 143, 161, 174, 175, 179, 189, 194, 198, 200, 207, 236, 240, 251-60, 286, 293, 305, 313, 321, 335-37, 350.
Glasgow—122, 128, 129.
Gräfrath, Germany—189.
Granville, town, France—175, 183.
Great Britain—63, 71, 99, 102, 104, 107, 116, 122, 150, 151, 183, 192, 206, 220, 236, 246, 248, 251, 277, 279-87, 291, 299, 313, 314, 320, 322, 335, 336, 348.
Gt. Titchfield Street. See *London.*
Greek Street, Soho. See *London.*
Green Dragon, King Street, Golden Square. See *London.*
Greenwich. See *London.*
Guise, France—176.

H

Hamburg—87.
Hartlepool—179.
Hatfield Street, Blackfriars. See *London.*
Hull—85.
Hungary—248.

I

Ille-et-Vilaine—175.
Ireland—151, 191, 206, 217, 248, 279, 299, 327, 329, 333, 350.

Isère, department, France—224.
Italy—61, 118, 132, 173, 198, 203, 236, 240, 286, 322, 337.

J

Jamaica—336.

L

La Chaux-de-Fonds—143, 161, 189.
Lancashire—278, 281.
Langenbielau (Bielawa Zachodnia), Silesia—174.
Lausanne—175, 176, 189, 233, 320.
Leather Lane. See *London*.
Leipzig (Leipsic)—143, 161, 200.
Lisieux, town, France—109, 111, 165, 232, 320.
Little Dean Street. See *London*.
Little Pulteney Street. See *London*.
London—60, 62, 68, 87, 91, 98, 103, 108, 115, 116, 139, 144, 147, 152, 174, 183, 186, 198, 207, 215, 224, 254, 256, 259, 279, 282, 289, 291, 292, 295, 297, 305, 313, 314, 321, 340.
Bedford Street, Strand—306.
Bell Inn, Old Bailey—166, 179.
Berwick Street—221.
Blackheath—122.
Bouverie Street, Fleet Street—146, 149, 154, 160, 221, 313, 316, 317, 333, 339.
Cambridge Hall, Newman Street—57, 194.
Charles Street, Northampton Square, Clerkenwell—306.
Chelsea—89, 137.
City—72, 179, 185.
Cleveland Hall—150.
Commercial Road—198.
Crown Public House, Hedden Court, Regent Street—336.
Deptford—318.
Drury Lane—306.
Freemasons Arms—249.
Gt. Titchfield Street—306.
Greek Street, Soho—35, 36, 54, 55, 138, 143, 297, 305-07.
Green Dragon, King Street, Golden Square—178.
Greenwich—65, 95, 99.
Hatfield Street, Blackfriars—306.
Leather Lane—179.
Little Dean Street—177.
Little Pulteney Street—177.
Metropolitan Institution, Cleveland Street—107.
Middle District—75.
Nassau Street, Soho—63.
New York Hotel—137, 159, 161, 273.
Paper-buildings, Temple—332.
Radleys Hotel—81.
Rose Cottage, Downham Road, Kingsland—304.
St. James's Hall—247.
St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre—35, 74-75, 138, 160, 274, 286, 289, 293, 306, 307, 313.
Saville Row—174.
Shoe Lane—72.
Silver Cup, café—216.
South Street, Manchester Square—221.
Strand—144, 316.
West End—178, 199, 203, 211.
White Cross Street—38.

Whitehall—334.
Lyons—81, 85, 99, 107, 113, 116, 124, 163, 174, 188, 189, 193, 208, 211, 223, 237, 320.

M

Manche, department, France—160, 175, 183, 274.
Manchester—72, 75, 81, 82, 83, 97, 98.
Cross Street—271.
Mayence (Mainz)—143.
Metropolitan Institution, Cleveland Street. See *London.*
Mexico—168, 248.
Middle District. See *London.*
Milan—189.
Montreux—237, 320.

N

Nantes—232, 320.
Naples—61, 169, 171, 172, 190.
Nassau Street, Soho. See *London.*
Neuchâtel, canton, Switzerland—143, 320.
Neufchâteau—107, 121, 161, 320, 322.
Neuville-sur-Saône—211, 214.
Newfoundland—217.
New York—131, 161.
New York Hotel. See *London.*
New Zealand—70.
Northumberland—203.
Norwich—112, 119.
Nottingham—99, 194.

O

Orne, department, France—160, 274.
Oxfordshire—279.

P

Palais Royal. See *Paris.*
Pantin. See *Paris.*
Paper-buildings, Temple. See *London.*
Paris—66, 71-74, 76-78, 84, 85, 87, 91, 93, 98, 105, 161, 181, 183, 184, 193, 196, 202, 210, 231, 232, 237, 240, 254, 255, 265-67, 313, 320, 322, 323.
Belleville, workers' settlement—320.
Palais Royal—71.
Pantin, suburb—109, 111, 232, 320.
Puteaux—232, 320.
St. Denis, suburb—94, 109, 232, 320.
Peterswaldau (Dluga Wieś), Silesia—174.
Pinneberg—174.
Poland—61, 62, 64, 74, 117, 134, 136, 145, 236, 246, 247, 287, 292, 305, 314, 350.
Pont-l'Evêque, France—320.
Porrentruy—189.
Portugal—173.
Prussia—257-59, 292.
Puteaux. See *Paris.*

R

Radleys Hotel. See *London.*
Rennes—175.
Rome—248.
Rose Cottage, Downham Road, Kingsland. See *London.*
Rouen—208, 232, 320.
Russia—237, 246, 247, 287, 292.

S

St. Denis. See *Paris.*
St. Imier—189.
St. James's Hall. See *London.*

St. Louis—66, 182.
St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre. See *London.*
St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) —237, 255, 287.
Saville Row. See *London.*
Saxony—259.
Schleswig-Holstein—174.
Scotland—121, 278, 279, 335.
Second Court, Latimer Street. See *Birmingham.*
Sheffield—200, 209, 220, 348.
Shoe Lane. See *London.*
Silver Cup. See *London.*
Silesia—174.
Solingen—174.
Somersetshire, county, England—279.
South Street, Manchester Square. See *London.*
Spain—173, 236, 240, 320.
Staffordshire, county, England—280.
Strand. See *London.*
Strasburg—237.
Stratford—194, 196.
Stuttgart—259.
Switzerland—60, 66, 72, 73, 81, 92, 116, 124, 129, 147, 173, 174, 176, 193, 231-34, 236, 237, 241, 251, 305, 313, 320, 324, 335, 336.

T

Tunbridge Wells—194.

U

United Kingdom. See *Great Britain.*
United States of America—51, 68, 94, 117, 172, 220, 278, 305, 310, 341, 343, 348.

V

Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) —330.
Vaud, canton, Switzerland—189.
Venice (Venetia)—197, 207, 248.
Verviers—150.
Vevey, town, Switzerland—233.
Vienne, town, France—224.
Villefranche, town, France—188.

W

Wales—125, 279, 281.
West End. See *London.*
Westphalia—252.
White Cross Street. See *London.*
Whitehall. See *London.*
Wolverhampton—194.
Wustegiersdorf (Głuszica)—174.

Z

Zurich—147.

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